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Frontispiece] *Charles I.*

CHARLES I IN CAPTIVITY

FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BY

GERTRUDE SCOTT STEVENSON, M.A.

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INTRODUCTION

I

The present volume sets out neither to whitewash nor to blacken the character of King Charles I. Innumerable books dealing with that unfortunate monarch have been published during the past two and a half centuries, each expressing the beliefs more or less violently held of its author in Charles's guilt or innocence, tyranny or martyrdom. The tendency of modern research in every field, however, is rather to get back to original sources than merely to study the opinions of successive writers on any particular subject. In describing this most fascinating period of the life of King Charles I., it has seemed to the present writer more useful and more interesting, even to the general reader, to set forth, with a minimum of commentary, the contemporary evidence of the behaviour of the King during the last two years of his life—the time between his surrender to the Scots army at Newark and his death on the scaffold at Whitehall, than to attempt to add one more volume to the rapidly growing modern library of slapdash historical memoirs.

The whole of Sir Thomas Herbert's *Threnodia Carolina*, or Memoirs of the Two Last Years of the Reign of Charles I., is printed, thus giving an opportunity for the study of this invaluable narrative, which, although well known and of much poignant interest and historical value, does not appear to have been republished since its first publication by command of Charles II. Inserted, in chronological order, into this memoir are a number of other important contemporary documents. The first is the narrative of Major Huntington, a Cromwellian soldier, who gives a first-hand account of Cromwell's dealings with King Charles at Hampton Court and King Charles's flight to the Isle of Wight. Then comes Firebrace's story of King Charles's attempts to escape from Carisbrooke Castle, and his various means of corresponding with the outside world. Colonel Edward Cooke, another Cromwellian soldier, next tells how King Charles was taken from Newport to Hurst Castle in Hampshire. The official account of the trial of Charles I., published shortly after his death "by authority" of the Parliament, is well known and has been frequently republished. Its absorbing interest never wanes, however, and the continuity of the story demands its inclusion here. As a report it is incomplete and probably makes some omissions, but its truthfulness, so far as it goes, is conceded by its lack of criticism

from the royalist writers of the period. King Charles's letter to the Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles II.), written after his trial, is printed in full; it was entrusted to Bishop Juxon, but was probably never delivered. King Charles's speech on the scaffold is next included, followed by two contemporary "characters" of the King by the Earl of Clarendon and Sir Philip Warwick.

The Appendix comprises Sir Henry Halford's report to the Prince Regent, in 1813, of the accidental finding of the body of King Charles I. in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. *Eikon Basilike* has not been quoted from, as it is not yet generally accepted as the actual work of King Charles I.

II

English history as expounded in the history books is notoriously inaccurate. In order to get a cohesive and plausible story contemporary memoirs and letters, it is true, are generally used, but without careful investigation of their authenticity. A more frequent error is the use of contemporary accounts based on hearsay evidence, and written in the heat of partizanship. These accounts, slavishly quoted by each succeeding generation of historical writers, perpetuate misleading and often definitely untruthful statements of events, and kings and statesmen tend

to become labelled with tags, such as "The Wisest Fool in Christendom," "The King-Maker," "The First Gentleman in Europe." All judgments of events or estimations of character that depend upon political or religious bias should be eschewed. Unless they are definitely stated to be conjectural, they constitute a deliberate attempt to prevent the reader from drawing his own conclusions upon the facts before him. It is in this respect that so many English historians have gravely erred. There are few, if any, historical surveys in which personal prejudices do not leap to the eye, and to read the accounts of the same period in three or four of them leads to despair of finding the truth. The sphere of history is simply to record the events of the world's progress, and to give a faithful picture of the persons who took part in these events. Religious apologetics and political propaganda are outside its scope.

In this matter of the overwhelming of truth with conjecture and misrepresentation, deliberate or otherwise, the early part of the seventeenth century in England has been particularly unfortunate. At that time men were divided into many divergent groups, and no one group knew the inner secrets of the others, so that all accounts are necessarily one-sided. In the Papal Archives at the Vatican, for example, may be read scores of letters from observers employed by the Pope to keep him in

touch with events and informed on the behaviour of individuals in England, and, indeed, in every Court of Europe. In view of what is now known of the period, it is extraordinary how little these correspondents gleaned and how inaccurate much of their information was. It may be presumed, therefore, that many accounts of narrators who were not actually eye-witnesses of the events they describe are equally inaccurate. Even Clarendon makes mistakes about the history of the period when he was overseas with the Prince of Wales, for the little royalist group abroad obtained only the scantiest of news from England, as is shown by the Prince's letter to his father, quoted on page 251.

III

It was perhaps the greatest misfortune of the Stuart family that they were called to be the poor kings of a wealthy kingdom, a position for which their family characteristics did not fit them, and which in large measure contributed to their downfall. Relatively speaking, the Stuarts were poor in worldly possessions, and the standard of living in Scotland was very meagre compared with that in Elizabethan England.

The Court of James I., however, became one of great magnificence. Both King and Queen were

fond of amusement, and money was lavished on gorgeous entertainments. Queen Elizabeth had been chary of creating new peerages, with the result that King James found a nobility small in numbers and weak in power quite overwhelmed by the great class of landed gentry and wealthy merchants, who were both numerous and powerful. An irregular means of revenue thus lay ready to James's hand, and he lavished titles and offices on people, who in return contributed to his exchequer and his entertainment. This new class of nobility vied with each other in their display of pomp and magnificence, and drunkenness, gambling, and usury increased. Such was the environment in which Charles I. grew to manhood. James I. resorted to all sorts of illegal expedients to obtain money for the expenses of his Court and Government, and left exhausted resources and many debts when he died in 1625.

IV

Charles Stuart, second son of James VI. of Scotland (afterwards James I. of England), and Anne of Denmark, was born at Dunfermline, on November 19th, 1600, his elder brother Henry Frederic being then some years older. He was such a weakly baby that it was deemed advisable to baptise him at once, and the Ducs de Rohan and de Soubise, leaders of the French Huguenots, were

his godfathers. Neither his father nor his mother cared greatly for the company of their children, nor would even have them under the same roof as themselves any longer than could be helped; so at the age of three, before he could either walk or talk, the little prince was sent to be brought up in the care of Sir George Cary, who afterwards became Earl of Monmouth, and his wife. When Queen Elizabeth died and King James went to England Charles was left behind because of his feeble health and backward intelligence. He was brought to England in 1604, and was created Duke of York with great ceremony. At this time he could still neither walk nor talk.

Very little is to be found in the letters and chronicles of the time about the boyhood of Charles. The impediment in his speech, from which he suffered all his life, made him very taciturn and shy, and he acquired a reputation for moroseness and ill-temper. His misshapen leg, however, became stronger, and he was able in later years to take part in outdoor sports and to acquit himself very well on horse-back. In stature he remained small, below the average height. He had little charm of manner and his appearance was unattractive. Perinchief says: "His childhood was blemished with a supposed obstinacy, for the weakness of his body inclining him to retirements, and the

imperfection of his speech rendering discourse tedious and unpleasant, he was suspected to be somewhat perverse." As the Prince grew older he acquired more control over his temper, but his manner remained rude and unapproachable. He had no respect for women in general, although he was a very devoted husband, and many anecdotes are related of his coarseness of speech and act in the presence of the ladies of the Court.

In marked contrast to Charles was his brother Henry, Prince of Wales. Henry was the *beau idéal* of a prince. Handsome, genial, intelligent, and self-confident, he bore comparison with his ancestor Edward the Black Prince, and his brilliance threw the silent, awkward, younger brother farther into the shade. Charles spent his retirement in study and learned discourse. Religious disputation was the fashion of the age, and James I. himself excelled in the exercise and encouraged it in Charles. The time was one of great intellectual activity, and art, science, and literature were all flourishing. Amongst learned men Charles was always able to hold his own, and as a patron of the arts he showed excellent taste.

The young Charles was of a much more frugal and sober nature than his father, and was in addition as honest and conscientious as circumstances, which he had not the strength of character to withstand,

would allow. When he succeeded to the throne he determined to pay his father's debts, cut down the personnel of the Court, and dispense with the great mob of sycophantic courtiers who had surrounded his predecessor. Crowds of admiring flatterers were not a necessity to Charles I., though throughout his reign there was always one individual or another who had absolute dominion over him; the pity is that in no case was this influence actuated by ideals for the good of the country as a whole. Buckingham held sway until his death by assassination in 1628, Laud until his execution in 1645, and Queen Henrietta Maria until she fled the country in 1644. Each had an axe to grind: Buckingham his own, Laud that of a narrow-minded religious fanatic, and Henrietta Maria that of the Pope, whose interests she upheld with all the obstinacy she owned by nature and all the experience she had gained by her upbringing in the midst of the tortuous diplomacy of the French Court. Henrietta Maria was, indeed, the crux of Charles's misfortunes, and his affection for her and subjugation by her tied the Gordian knot which could be cut only by the sword, the sword which, wielded in vain on many fields of battle, fell finally on the scaffold at Whitehall, and for the time at least rescued England from the toils of Vatican intrigue.

When James I. died Charles was already

committed to a marriage with the daughter of Henri IV. The marriage was hurried on, and was performed by proxy in Paris on May 1st, while the body of James still lay in state at Somerset House. On June 12th Henrietta Maria arrived at Dover, where Charles met her. She knelt at his feet and would have kissed his hand, but he raised her up and, taking her in his arms, kissed her. At this time she was still almost a child, quite small of stature, with irregular features, bright eyes, and a lively tongue. When she liked she could be charming, but at heart she was anything but an amiable woman. Her temper soon showed itself, and her career proved her to be self-willed, haughty, and over-bearing. She had had no education, and was almost illiterate ; her obstinacy amounted on many occasions to stupidity. When she had been only a few weeks in the country a courtier writing to a friend thus describes her conduct : "The Queen, howsoever very little of stature, is yet of a pleasing countenance (if she be pleased), but full of spirit and vigour, and seems of more than ordinary resolution. With one frown divers of us being at Whitehall to see her (being at dinner and the room somewhat overheated with the fire and the company) she drove us all out of the chamber. I suppose none but a Queen could have cast such a scowl."

Before her marriage Henrietta wrote to the Pope (Urban VIII.) as follows :—

MOST HOLY FATHER,

I have been informed by the King what wise and prudent advice and warning your Holiness has been pleased to give him regarding the measures necessary for the safeguarding of my conscience and of the conscience of my household, the maintenance of my dignity when I go to England, and the welfare of Religion and the liberty of the Catholic members of the kingdom in the treaty of marriage which has been made between the Prince of Wales and myself. His Majesty, in accordance with his zeal for his religion and the great affection and care with which he is pleased to honour me, has arranged for these matters. All this kind and earnest care is the greatest comfort to me in the completion of this marriage, since there is nothing in the world so dear to me as the safety of my conscience and the welfare of my religion according to the good upbringing and instruction I had from the Queen, my mother. I have thought it my duty to return my humble thanks to your Holiness for the assistance you on your side have been pleased to give, and I give you my sincere assurance and word, as I have given it to his Majesty, that if it shall please God to bless this marriage and give me

children I shall choose none but Catholics to look after and bring up these children and to perform any other service for them. Nor will I commit the task of choosing their attendants to any but Catholics, commanding them not to choose any others except of the same religion. With regard to which I humbly beg your Holiness to rest assured and do me the honour of trusting me.

Most Holy Father,

Your very devoted daughter,

HENRIETTA MARIA.

Paris, 6th April, 1625.

When Henrietta Maria arrived in England she had in her retinue twenty-nine priests, fourteen of whom were Theatines, and fifteen Seculars. Besides these there was a bishop, whose youthful appearance scandalised the English Court, as he was less than thirty years of age.

Charles had been brought up in the Presbyterian form of religion until he was eighteen years old, when he was instructed in the doctrines of the Church of England and embraced them with a fervour that endured until the end of his days. He was head of the Protestant League in Europe, and King of a country where public feeling ran strong against interference from outside, and especially from Roman Catholic countries ; yet Mass was being

celebrated regularly in his own house. His troubles began immediately after his succession. Parliament presented him with a pious petition that as he valued the established religion of the country he would put into execution the penal laws against Catholics and Missionaries. As Charles had signed and sealed a secret marriage treaty not to do so, he was already on the horns of a dilemma, and found no better way out than to temporise and return a conciliatory but evasive answer to Parliament. Certain measures Charles did eventually take to curb the French Catholic intriguing that was going on in his Court and household; but Henrietta Maria remained a disturber of the peace to the last, and abated her activities not a jot out of consideration for her husband's difficult position. As a saddened old woman, whose interfering nature could not be tolerated even in her son's Court after his restoration, she acknowledged that if she had understood the temper of the English nation twenty years earlier her husband might still have been alive and reigning on the English throne.

V

Charles's coronation was significant of what his reign was to be. It took place on February 2nd, 1626, and was performed with pomp and dignity, though the anointing had to be done behind a screen

out of deference to Puritan feelings. The Queen refused to be present as a spectator, since her religion precluded her from being crowned as Queen, and, with the exception of Holland, the great countries of Europe followed her example and were unrepresented by ambassadors.

Expenditure was cut down by Charles until he earned a reputation for meanness. When he met his first Parliament he put his case straight before them and asked for money. Besides his own debts, there were troops in Holland wanting pay, and James I.'s debts amounted to £700,000. Parliament rewarded his confidence by granting him two subsidies, amounting in all to about £140,000, and the duties on tonnage, not for life as was usual, but for one year only.

The problem of raising money without the consent of Parliament arose, therefore, at once, and Charles had seen many devices for doing so resorted to by his father, as, for example, when the Earl of Harrington escorted the Princess Elizabeth to her home on the Rhine, and demanded £30,000 for expenses from King James; James had not the money, so he granted a patent for the coining of base money in brass.

After Charles dissolved his first Parliament he tried to carry on the Government with the aid of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Buckingham

was the only son of a country squire, but his personal fascination obtained for him a brilliant position at the Court of James I., and an ascendancy over the young and somewhat neglected Prince Charles which lasted until his death. During the first three years of the reign of Charles Buckingham was the young King's evil genius. He was detested by Parliament and mistrusted by everyone. So long as he remained at the helm of State Charles could hope for no help, financial or otherwise, from his Parliament, which he summoned in 1625, 1626 and 1628. He found himself involved in impracticable military expeditions to Cadiz against Spain, to La Rochelle against the Huguenots there, and then to the Isle of Rhé in aid of the Huguenots at La Rochelle. All these expeditions were unnecessary, futile, and disastrous to Charles's armies and personal prestige, as well as being financially ruinous. Parliament would grant him no money to pay for them, so he began at the very outset of his reign to follow his father's example, and try to obtain money by means which were illegal, because unsanctioned by Parliament.

Buckingham was assassinated at Portsmouth in August, 1628, by a discontented officer, John Felton. Earlier in that year Charles had summoned his third Parliament, which contained many men who were afterwards to play a great part in his downfall and the downfall of the monarchy. Amongst these

members of the Puritan party were Hampden, Pym, Eliot, and a new member from Huntingdon, Oliver Cromwell by name. This Parliament began by presenting the "Petition of Right," to be signed as a necessary preliminary to the granting of any subsidy. Charles signed the Petition, and then, when Parliament began to press for penalties against the Catholics, dissolved it. For the next eleven years he ruled without a Parliament. During this time he was particularly under the sway of two men, both strong and ruthless, and detested by the majority of their fellow-countrymen. These were William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. Laud ruled at home in England, where he became the scourge of Puritanism, and Strafford undertook to pacify Ireland, which he achieved, temporarily at least, with an iron hand. Charles at this time began to allow his Queen, Henrietta Maria, to dictate his policy, and she gave such provocation to the King's opponents that at one time she was in grave danger of impeachment.

In 1636 Charles, urged on by Laud, made an ill-advised attempt to force episcopacy upon the Church of Scotland, with the result that all classes of Scots signed the "National Covenant," an agreement to stand by each other in resistance to tyranny and forced imposition of forms of religion

of which they disapproved. This looked to Charles like open rebellion, and he tried to collect an army with which to bring the recalcitrant Scots to their senses. In order to appeal for supplies for this purpose he summoned a Parliament in 1640. This Parliament was of a temper which he could not have realised. Pym was again its guiding spirit, and many of the old leaders, Cromwell and others, were still in their places, with many years of persecution of Puritanism to avenge. After a session of only three weeks it was dissolved, having earned the name of the "Short Parliament." Charles then sent for Strafford to return from Ireland. He came, but left his troops behind, and was unable to raise an army in England for the purpose of fighting the Covenanters. Charles, therefore, called his fifth and last Parliament, which became the "Long Parliament." Strafford and Laud, by its instructions, were arrested, impeached, thrown into the Tower, and executed. Other counsellors of Charles were arrested, and some fled the country. Charles has been greatly blamed for making no attempt to save his ministers, but it is difficult to see what he could have done without precipitating the Civil War. He was entirely helpless. The "Long Parliament" took up the reins of government, and proceeded to pass measures of reform and reconstruction which Charles signed in docile manner. They put

forward, however, a document called the "Grand Remonstrance," which was a sort of summary of Charles's misdeeds, followed by a list of reforms which had been carried out and a list of further reforms to be introduced. Those further suggestions were too drastic for many of the members, and Parliament split into parties, of whom the Church of England members rallied around Charles. Having now a show of power behind, he used it to attempt to arrest the five leaders of the Puritan party. He arrived at the House of Commons, only to learn that the members had been warned and had fled. This set-back marked the end of Charles's attempts to deal with Parliament. He withdrew from London, and made a tour of the Midlands, sounding his adherents there as to the possibility of waging war on Parliament. Queen Henrietta Maria was dispatched abroad with the Crown Jewels, on which she was able to raise £2,000,000, which was spent on munitions to be sent to England.

In April, 1642, Charles sought admittance into Hull, and found the gates shut in his face by a Governor who declared that he took orders only from Parliament. The Civil War had begun. In August Charles raised his standard on the Castle Hill at Nottingham, and his friends began to rally round him. For nine years the war went on almost without intermission, but the King himself gave up

the struggle in April, 1646, and surrendered into the hands of the Scots army, which had marched to the aid of Parliament, and lay encamped outside Newark.

VI

It is at this point in the story of Charles's life that the present volume opens. Charles's ship was already foundering when he took the helm. The country was cleft by many factions, Catholics, Presbyterians, Sectarians, Scotsmen, Irishmen, Republicans. To take another simile, his attempt to govern England, torn as she was by bitter and irreconcilable religious dissensions, is comparable to the attempt of a ploughman to trace a straight furrow through the trees of a wood, a manifest impossibility so long as the trees remain. It was left to a far stronger and more ruthless character than Charles to hew a way through, and the King was the first and greatest obstacle to be felled from Cromwell's path.

For two years after his surrender Charles was held prisoner, nominally by Parliament, but on two occasions he was abducted from their charge by soldiers acting on secret orders, which they derived not from their commander, General Fairfax, but from his so-called subordinates, Cromwell and

Ireton, who on many other occasions indubitably acted without his knowledge.

In the drama of these last two years the actors resolve themselves into three groups: In the first group is the lonely figure of the King, stripped of all power, separated from his wife and children, denied the advice and company of friends, and utterly dependent on the secret ministrations of a small group of body servants, and on whatever degree of comfort his various gaolers might accord him. In London the "Long Parliament" continues to meet, and its members to search for a ground of reconciliation and negotiation with their prisoner. The third factor in the drama—and the deciding one—is the Army, under the nominal leadership of Fairfax, but actually under the leadership of Cromwell and Ireton. Their solution of the problem was arrived at before Charles fled from Hampton Court, and nothing was allowed to stand in the way of its accomplishment. If the "Long Parliament" had not voted that a ground of reconciliation had been found with the King there would have been no necessity for "Pride's Purge." At that stage of his career Cromwell was still anxious to give a semblance of legality to his action, and some form of Parliament had to take the responsibility for the King's execution. In later years he was not so particular.

VII

Of the actual scene of the execution at Whitehall comparatively few authentic accounts exist. The spectators were kept out of earshot, and the participators were not over anxious to talk about their experiences. Cromwell, we know, looked on from a window of the Palace. A youth, Philip Henry, who looked on from the crowd, has left an interesting description. He had been brought up at Whitehall, where his father was keeper of the orchard, for which he had a dwelling-house at the Garden Stairs, besides the perquisites of the Water-gate, the profits of the orchard, and ten groats a day, payable out of the Wardrobe. Being down on holiday from Oxford, Philip Henry, who had played with the young princes in his childhood, and had been many times patted on the head by Laud, had seen the King pass each morning to his trial: "He went by our door on foot each day that hee was carry'd by water to Westminster, for he took barge at Garden-stayres where we lived, and once he spake to my father and said 'Art thou alive yet!' On the day of his execution, which was Tuesday, Jan. 30th, I stood amongst the crowd in the street before Whitehal gate, where the scaffold was erected, and saw what was done, but was not so near as to hear anything. The blow I saw given

and can truly say with a sad heart ; at the instance whereof, I remember wel, there was such a grone by the thousands then present, as I never heard before and desire I may never hear again. There was according to order one troop immediately marching from-wards Charing Cross to Westminste and another from-wards Westminster to Charing Cross purposely to masker the people, and to disperse and scatter them, so that I had much adoe amongst the rest to escape home without hurt."

As soon as the funeral was over the King's personal possessions were disposed of to the highest bidders. Many pictures and jewels were sold out of the country, and Queen Christina of Sweden, the Duke of Orleans, and other members of the royal families of Europe were eager buyers. Several royal palaces were pulled down to pay the troops, and royalists throughout the country were drained of their lands and resources in fines to purchase their lives and freedom.

VIII

After the King's death his body was treated with scant respect by the Army, but a few faithful friends were allowed to take it to Windsor for burial. The Royal Chapel was afterwards dismantled by the Cromwellians and everything saleable was sold.

When Charles II. was restored to the throne in 1660 he desired to have his father's body removed from Windsor and reburied, with royal honours, in Westminster Abbey. The Earl of Clarendon, his chief advisor, thought it inexpedient, however, to do so. Cromwellian vandalism had been at work in St. George's Chapel, and it was announced that the situation of the late King's tomb could not be found. Charles accepted this decision, and no further effort was made to discover it.

In 1813 an accident during repairs to the chapel led to the re-discovery of the body. Sir Henry Halford, physician to King George III., was present with the Prince Regent and others, and described the whole affair in a written report to the Prince Regent, who afterwards guaranteed its accuracy. This report is printed in the Appendix, at page 310. It would appear, however, that the opening of the vault was not carried out in as seemly a fashion as it might have been. A surgeon, Trapham, had sewn the head to the trunk before the King's burial, and his stitches were undone by a workman in order to lift the head out of the coffin. This workman, in his excitement, clumsily dropped the head upon the floor, at which the Prince was so much annoyed that he swore at the workmen and left the party. While engaged in replacing the body, the spectators did not refrain from helping themselves to souvenirs.

Locks of hair, chips of bone, and even a tooth of Henry VIII. from a neighbouring coffin, were all carried away, while Sir Henry Halford took the vertebra which had been severed by the executioner's axe. This vertebra was returned to King Edward VII. by Sir Henry's descendants, and was by him restored to the coffin, being let down into the vault in a gold case through a small opening in the wall.

GERTRUDE SCOTT STEVENSON.

CHARLES I. IN CAPTIVITY

CHAPTER I

SIR THOMAS HERBERT'S NARRATIVE[1]

SIR,[2]

By yours of the 22nd. of August last, 1679. I find you have received my former letters of the First and Thirteenth of May, 1678. And seeing 'tis your further desire I should recollect what I can well remember upon that sad subject, more at large, I am willing to satisfy you therein, so far forth as my memory will assist.

Some short notes of occurrences I then took, which, in this long interval of time, and several removes with my family, are either lost or mislaid, so as at present I cannot find them ; which renders this narrative not so methodical, nor so large, as otherwise I should, and probably by you may be expected. Nor would I trouble you with what any other has written, but, in a summary way, give

[1] *Memoirs of the Two last Years of the Reign of the unparallell'd Prince, of ever Blessed Memory, King Charles I. by Sir Thomas Herbert, Major Huntington, Col. Edw. Coke, and Mr. Hen. Firebrace.*

[2] The narrative is addressed to Sir William Dugdale, Garter King-at-Arms under Charles II.

you some court-passages, which I observed, during the last two years of his late Majesty's life and reign, being the time of his solitude and sufferings. Neither will I retrospect to times of hostility, which (as I imagine) ceased in or about the month of August, 1646, nor speak of the grounds of that unhappy and destructive war, occasion'd either by a contest for the Militia in this kingdom, or from some uproars in Scotland, arising (as pretended) by our introducing the Book of Common-Prayer, in conformity to the Liturgy; which they retaliated by endeavouring to impose upon us their Discipline and Forms of a Presbytery.

These, with some other apprehensions, made the first difference betwixt the King and Parliament. But referring you to the histories, which fully mention those things, you may there observe, that about the middle of April, 1646, the King being then at Oxford, had certain intelligence that Sir Thomas Fairfax was returned out of the western countries, and upon the 27th. of that month arrived at Newberry with his army, in order to his besieging the City of Oxford, which accordingly was, within four days after, invested; So as his Majesty thought fit to leave that important garrison to the care of Sir Thomas Glemham, the governour, a valiant and expert warrior, and in the night-season, disguised and attended only by his servant Ashburnham and

"Hull summoned." The first act of the Civil War.

Dr. Hudson, hastened to the Leager before Newark,[1] which at that time was on the one side straitned by

[1] William Sanderson, in his History printed in 1658, gives details of the King's nine days' flight. "The King escaped by the help of and in the company with John Ashburnham and Dr. Hudson, a clergyman. Hudson was afterwards captured and taken before Parliament. Then was Hudson examined, who saith: That the King was there in company, coasted the country from Oxford, and came to Henley, Brainford and Harrow-on-the-Hill, where he was almost persuaded to come to London, from thence he went to St. Albans, and then to Harborough in Leicestershire, where he expected the French agent with some horse to meet him and to conduct him to the Scots; but the agent failing of his promise to Hudson, the King went to Stanford, thence to Norfolk, and at Downham he rested from Thursday till Monday, till Hudson returned from the agent; upon whose return the King repassed into the Army."

Montreuil, the French agent, acted as negotiator between the King and Scots army, and arranged the terms of Charles's surrender at Southwell.

At this time a letter from the King to Prince Charles was intercepted and read in Parliament. In it the King showed his anxiety on behalf of Ashburnham, who had long been his devoted servant and continued so until the end.

Charles, This is rather to tell you where I am, and that I am well, than at this time to direct you in any thing, having writ fully to your Mother what I would have you to do, whom I command you to obey in everything except religion; concerning which I am confident she will not trouble you; and see you goe no whither without her, or my particular direction: Let me hear often from you, so God blesse you.

Your Loving Father, C. Rex.

Postscript: If Jack Ashburnham come where you are,

Major-General Poyntz who commanded there the Parliament forces; and on the other, by General Leven and the Scots army, into whose hands his Majesty was pleased to intrust himself, having (it seems) a solemn engagement from them to defend his Royal Person with their lives and fortunes; and not a little rejoicing was expressed in their camp at his Majesty's reception. For at his command the tenth of May, the garrison was forthwith surrendered by the Lord Bellasis, the governour; so as the English forces were put into possession of the town and castle, which was well provided for defence; and the Scots having got the King into their hands, marched with great haste into the North, till they attained Newcastle, where they rested, making that place their headquarters;[1] which being known to Sir Thomas Glemham, he entered into a treaty with Sir Thomas Fairfax about the middle of May, and upon honourable terms

command him to wait on you as he was wont, untill I shall send for him. If your Mother and you be together, if she will, he must wait on her."

[1] At Newcastle "the King was caressed with Bone-fires and Bel-ringing, Drums and Trumpets, with peals of Ordnance and Vollies of Shot, but guarded with three hundred of the Scottish Horse, those near him bare-headed, and lodged at General Leven's Quarters, who proclaims; That no Papists or Delinquents shall come near his presence. It was soon abundantly clear to him that he was a prisoner."—Sanderson.

Oxford was yielded upon Midsummer-Day, which was the 24th, of June following. The Governour (at the treaty proposing that he might have the liberty to know his Majesty's pleasure, whether he should yield up the garrison or not) had the King's approbation with the Lords of his Majesty's Privy-Council, then at Oxford, for his surrender.

Meantime the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled at Westminster, disliking that the King should so long and so fruitlessly continue amongst the Scots within this Kingdom; the House of Commons upon the 17th. of April, 1646, published a declaration for maintaining a right understanding between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, asserting thereby, that in as much as a safe and good peace is the right end of a just war, it was by them the more passionately desired; and to that end and purpose they had framed several propositions to be sent to the King (some of which were primarily transmitted from both Houses to their brethern of Scotland, for their consent, that those proposals might in the name of both kingdoms be tendered to the King). Which being agreed, the Lords and Commons about the middle of July following, sent their desires (entitled Propositions for a Safe and Well-grounded Peace to be presented to his Majesty) by the Earls of Pembroke and Suffolk, members of the House of Peers, with four

of the House of Commons, namely, Sir Walter Earle, and Sir John Hipperly, knights, Robert Goodwin and Luke Robinson, esquires; who being come to Newcastle (which they attained in few days, the summer-season favouring) the day after their arrival, they presented their propositions to the King. Who having heard them read, and deliberated upon them, disapproved of them, in regard they insisted upon confirmation of the National League and Covenant, the abolishing of Episcopacy, investing the Subject with the Militia, exempting from pardon several lords and other considerable persons, that, during the war, adhered to him; so as his Majesty would in no wise give his royal assent. Nevertheless was graciously pleased to give the Commissioners his hand to kiss, and to dismiss them with a friendly aspect. Who being returned to Westminster, made their report, and had the thanks of both Houses for their pains.

The Parliament soon after came to an agreement with the Scots, to intrust the King with them; hoping that his drawing nearer London might conduce to a more speedy composure of the present unhappy differences between them: and likewise, that upon payment of two hundred thousand pounds (sterling) the Scots army should depart this kingdom, as upon the 15th of November, 1646, which was by the House of Commons publicly declared. The

one moiety of that sum to be paid at Newcastle, upon their march back into Scotland; the other half within twelve months after. Both which were punctually performed.

Things being thus prepared in order thereto, the Parliament nominated and appointed the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, the Lord Montague of Boughton, and double their number of some members of the House of Commons; namely, Sir James Harrington, Sir John Holland, Sir John Cooke, baronets, Sir Walter Earle, knight, John Crew, esquire, and Major-General Browne, with some private gentlemen, viz. Sir Fulk Greville, knight, Mr. James Harrington, Mr. Thomas Herbert,[1] Mr. Anthony Mildmay, Mr. —. Anstey, Mr. Babington, Mr. Muschamp, Mr. Clement Kinersley, Mr. Reading, with some others, who accompanied those lords and gentlemen of the House of Commons, to attend his Majesty with his other servants, if he should think fit to approve of them. Mr. Stephen Marshal and Mr. Joseph Carrill (two ministers of the Assembly of Divines) also went along as chaplains to those lords and members of the House of Commons, Commissioners of Parliament.

The 12th. of January, 1647, those noblemen and gentlemen (members of both Houses), with the

[1] Afterwards Sir Thomas Herbert, the writer of this account.

other gentlemen aforenamed, set forth from London (the lords in their coaches), and went the first night to Dunstable, the second to Northampton, the third to Leicester, the fourth to Nottingham, the fifth to Doncaster, the sixth to Wetherby, the seventh to North-Allerton, the eighth to Durham, the ninth to Newcastle; in all two hundred miles, which with bad ways and short days, made the travel less pleasant.

The Commissioners, after a very short repose, went to the house where the King then lodged in Newcastle; and being conducted to the presence-chamber, his Majesty, soon after his being acquainted with their coming, came into the presence, and with affability received and gave them his hand to kiss; and being by the Commissioners told the occasion of their repair thither to attend his Majesty, the King seemed very well pleased therewith, and said they were welcome, for he knew most of them, none of them were strangers to him, and no less welcome was their business; well hoping that his drawing nearer his Parliament would be a means to remove jealousies and distrusts, and establish a right understanding betwixt him and his two Houses of Parliament.

The King both by his alacrity and cheerfulness of his countenance, made it appear to all that were there (and the presence-chamber was then full

thronged) that he was no less willing to part from the Scots, than they with him ; and that his going South was very satisfactory to him : and after some mirthful passages with the Earl of Pembroke, who (let others say what they will) loved the King in his heart, and certainly had never separated from him, had he not (by the procurement of some ill-willers) been committed to the Tower, and his white staff taken from him, only by reason of a sudden and unhappy falling out at a committee in the Painted-Chamber, with his kinsman the Lord Mowbray, father to the Duke of Norfolk ; and the Lord Chamberlain's office conferred upon the Earl of Essex, in which place the Earl of Pembroke had served his Majesty many years, with much honour, honesty and splendour.[1] The King told him he was glad to see he could so well in his old age perform so long a winterly journey with the rest of the Commissioners who were youthful. He then advised them to go and refresh themselves, and attend him the next morning. Which the Commissioners accordingly observed.

[1] Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke, had been a favourite of James I. and was appointed Lord Chamberlain of the Household by Charles I. in 1626. He was a violent tempered man, and was always brawling. He was detested by Buckingham and Henrietta Maria, at whose instigation his quarrel in the Painted Chamber was used as an excuse to dismiss him.

Next morning being come, the Commissioners attended his Majesty, and after dinner humbly prayed his Majesty to declare his pleasure as to his remove from Newcastle. The King then told them, he would not go thence till they had rested themselves some time, as was convenient; being that they were to enter upon a further travel. After about four days longer stay, they repeated their desire, that his Majesty would be pleased to appoint both the time and place he would remove unto, that orders might be given to make ready accordingly; both which he did, so that all things were speedily prepared by his Majesty's old servants, for his journey to his house at Holdenby in Northamptonshire, commonly called Holmby, a very stately house, built by the Lord Chancellor Hatton, as the last and greatest monument of his youth, as he expressed; and, in King James's reign, purchased by Queen Anne, for her second son the Duke of York,[1] who, by the death of Prince Henry, became Prince of Wales, and afterwards to the present Duke,[2] second son to King Charles the First, of whom we are now speaking.

And as my memory will serve, give me leave to name the several places his Majesty lodged at between Newcastle and Holmby, the distance 'twixt those two being about eight score miles.

[1] Charles I. [2] James II.

The first night the King (being attended by his Commissioners), came to Durham, the second to Richmond, the third to Rippon, the fourth to Leeds, the fifth to Rotherham, the sixth to Nottingham, the seventh to Leicester, the eighth to Holmby ; at some of which towns he stayed some days.

And it is note-worthy, that through most parts where his Majesty passed, some out of curiosity, but most (as may be presumed) for love, flock'd to behold him, and accompanied him with acclamations of joy, and with their prayers for his preservation ; and, that not any of the troopers, who guarded the King, gave those country-people any check or disturbance, as the King passed, that could be observed (a civility his Majesty was well pleased with).

Being arrived at Holmby, very many country gentlemen, gentlewomen, and others of ordinary rank, stood ready there, to welcome the King, with joyful countenances and prayers.

The house was prepared with all things requisite, by Mr. Clement Kinersly, his Majesty's servant in the Wardrobe ; others also performing their duties in their respective offices and places : so as the Court was accommodated with all things needful, both in reference to the King, and likewise to the Commissioners, their chaplains, gentlemen,

attendants and others, and all within the King's house, without straitening; and all the tables were as well furnished as they used to be when his Majesty was in a peaceful and flourishing state.

At meal-times, the Commissioners never failed to wait upon the King with all due observance, and there being none of his Majesty's chaplains-in-ordinary to wait, whom by his letter, dated the sixth of March, he desired, but deny'd by both houses, in regard they had not taken the Covenant, the two divines, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Carrill (who came along with the Commissioners) were most times present, when his Majesty dined and supped, and willing to crave a blessing, but the King always said grace himself, standing under the State, his voice sometimes audible. His Majesty, nevertheless, was civil to those ministers, seeming to have a good esteem of them, in reference to what he had heard, both as to their learning and conversation. Nor did he express a dislike towards any of his servants then attending him, as were free to repair to the chapel, where those ministers by turns preached forenoon and afternoon, every Lord's-Day, before the Commissioners, and others of the Household; albeit, as some of them would say, they had rather have heard such as the King better approved of. The King every Sunday sequestered himself to his private devotion, and all other days in the week

spent two or three hours in reading and other pious exercises; at other times, for recreation, would after meals play a game at chess, and, for health sake, walk oft in the garden at Holmby, with one or other of the Commissioners; and in regard there was no bowling-green then well kept at Holmby, the King would sometimes ride to Harrowden, a house of the Lord Vaux's about nine miles off, where there was a good bowling-green with gardens, groves and walks, that afforded much pleasure. And other whiles to Althorpe, a fair house about two or three miles from Holmby, belonging to the Lord Spencer, now Earl of Sunderland, where also there was a green well kept. The King, in his going to Harrowden, passed over a bridge where Major Bosvile,[1] disguised like a labouring man, stood and gave his Majesty a packet from the Queen. The King told the Commissioners, 'twas to obtain his leave for the Prince to accompany Monsieur[2] that campaign, in the French army; so as the disguised person was excused.

[1] The same as Major Boswell, who appears many times in the chronicles of these times. He was an adept at disguising himself, and carried many letters and dispatches between Charles and his friends at home and, more especially, in France and Holland. He was imprisoned several times, but always managed to escape.

[2] Gaston, duc d'Orleans, only brother of Louis XIII. of France.

In this interim, jealousies increased, which begot fears, against which there is no fence. The Commissioners pursuant to their instructions, one time addressed themselves all together unto the King, and acquainted him therewith, and humbly prayed his Majesty to dismiss such of his servants as were there, and had waited upon him at Oxford. This application of theirs, was in no wise well pleasing to the King (having had long experience of the loyalty and good affection of those his servants) as appeared by his countenance, and the pause he made ere he gave the Commissioners any answer. Howbeit, after some expostulation and deliberation, he condescended to that which they proposed, they not opposing the continuance of Mr. James Maxwell, and Mr. Patrick Mawl, their attendance upon the royal person, as grooms of his Majesty's Bed-chamber, in which place they had many years faithfully served the King.

Next day his Majesty's servants came, as at other times, into the Presence-Chamber, where, at dinner-time, they waited; but after his Majesty arose from dinner, and acquainted them with what had passed 'twixt him and the Commissioners, they kissed his Majesty's hand, and with great expressions of grief for their dismiss, poured forth their prayers, for his Majesty's freedom, and preservation, and so departed. All that afternoon the King withdrew

into his bed-chamber, having given orders that none should interrupt him in his privacy.

Soon after this, his Majesty purposing to send a message to the Parliament, after dinner he called the Earl of Pembroke to him, and told him he would have Mr. Herbert come into his chamber, which the Earl acquainting the Commissioners with, Mr. Herbert was brought into the bed-chamber, by Mr. Maxwell, and, upon his knee desired to know his Majesty's pleasure : who told him, he would send a message to the Parliament ; and having none there that he usually employed, and unwilling it should go under his own hand, called him in for that purpose. Mr. Herbert having written as his Majesty did dictate, was by him enjoined secrecy, and not to communicate it to any, till made public by both Houses, if by them held meet ; which he carefully observed.

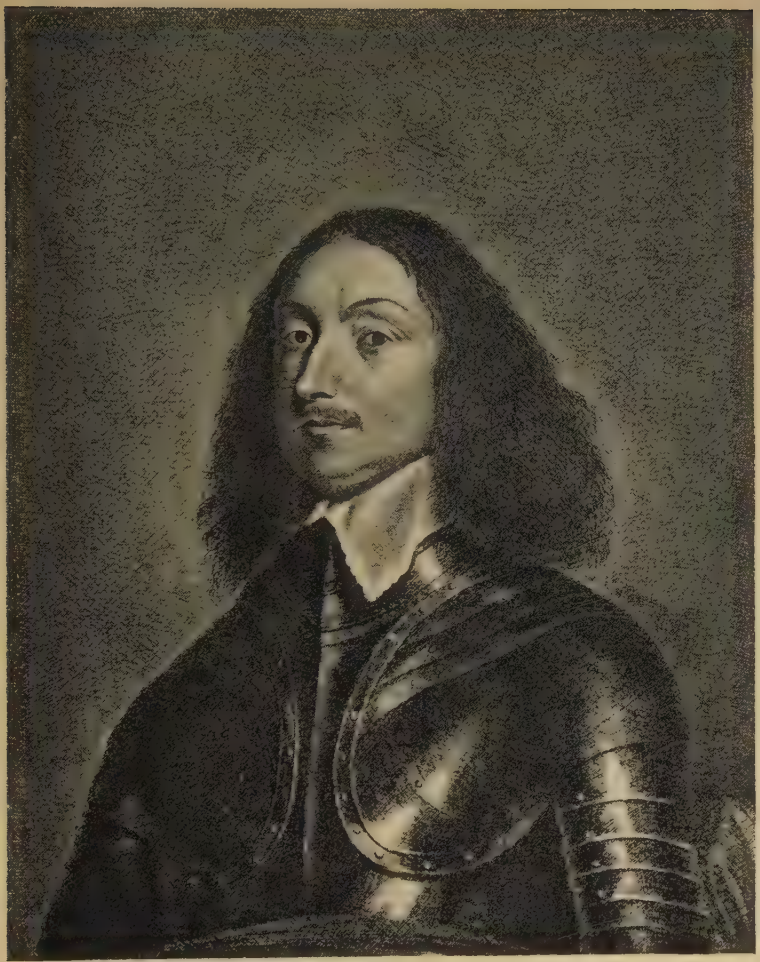
About a week after, the King was pleased to tell the Commissioners, that seeing Mr. James Levington, Mr. Henry Murrey, Mr. Ashburnham, and Mr. Leg, were for the present dismissed, he had taken notice of Mr. Harrington and Mr. Thomas Herbert, who had followed the Court since his coming from Newcastle ; and being well satisfied with the report he had concerning them, as to their sobriety and good education, he was willing to receive them as grooms into his bed-chamber, to wait upon his person with Mr. Maxwell and Mr.

Mawl; which the Commissioners approving they were that night admitted, and by his Majesty instructed as to the duty and service he expected from them.

They thenceforth attended his royal person, and agreeable to that great trust, with due observance and loyalty, as became servants; and by Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Mawl were affectionately treated. Mr. Harrington[1] was a gentleman well accomplished, had waited upon the Prince Elector Palatine, in his chamber, had travelled Germany, Italy and France. Mr. Herbert in like sort had travelled through most part of the Greater Asia, as also several parts of Africk and Europe.

His Majesty, during his stay at Holmby, such times as he did not ride abroad for refreshment, would walk in the long gravel-walk in the garden; where the Earl of Pembroke was ofttimes with the King, and, not without some difficulty, held pace with him, his Majesty being quick and lively in his motion. And other times with others of the Commissioners, but most with Major-General Browne, with whom the King was pleased to discourse often. And whensoever the King thus recreated himself, he never had above one in company, the rest keeping at a becoming distance, in some other part of the Privy-garden. For indeed as the Commissioners always expressed a high respect to the King, so the King was very affable

[1] Author of *Oceana*.



Sir Thomas Herbert.

to the Commissioners, all the time they attended his Majesty. During his Majesty's being at Holmby, the Earl of Pembroke fell sick, by cold he had taken, and for three weeks kept his chamber, and turning to a fever he kept his bed; and was so ill, that Mr. Bathurst his physician had for some days (in regard he was ancient) small hopes of his life. The Lord Herbert, his son, (having notice) hastened to him, according to his duty, which was some comfort to the Earl; and his Majesty sent Mr. Herbert every day to enquire of his condition, and in person was graciously pleased to visit him twice, which kindness helped (as the doctor said) much to his recovery.

It is well worth our observation, that in all the time of his Majesty's restraint and solitude he was never sick, nor took anything to prevent sickness, or had need of a physician: Which (under God) is attributed to his quiet disposition and unparallelled patience; to his exercise, when at home walking in the gallery and privy-garden, and other recreations when abroad; to his abstemiousness at meat, eating but of few dishes, and (as he used to say) agreeable to his exercise, drinking but twice every dinner and supper, once of beer and once of wine and water mixt, only after fish a glass of French wine, the beverage he himself mixed at the cupboard, so he would have it; he very seldom eat and drank before dinner, nor between meals.

CHAPTER II

SIR THOMAS HERBERT'S NARRATIVE, CONTINUED

His Majesty being one afternoon at bowls in the green at Althorpe, it was whispered amongst the Commissioners, who were then at bowls with the King, that a party of Horse, obscurely headed, was marching towards Holmby; and for no good it was presumed, in regard neither the Commissioners, nor Colonel Graves, who kept the guard at Holmby and was an officer in the Army, nor the Commissioners servants had the least notice of it from any officer or other correspondent in the Army.

Whereupon the King, so soon as he was acquainted with it, immediately left the green, and returned to Holmby; where the Commissioners, after consultation with Col. Graves, resolved to stand upon their guard, and accordingly they forthwith doubled the guards for defence of his Majesty's person; and Major-General Browne, calling all the soldiers together, acquainted them with the occasion, who promised to stand by him, and not suffer any attempt upon the King's person, or affront to the Commissioners: but the difference is great 'twixt saying and doing, as soon appeared;

for about midnight came that party of horse, which in good order drew up before the house at Holmby, and at all avenues placed guards; which done, the officer that commanded the party alighted and demanded entrance. Colonel Graves and Major-General Browne asked him his name and business. He replied his name was Joyce, a cornet in Colonel Whaley's regiment, and his business was to speak with the King. From whom? said they: From myself, said he: at which they laughed. It 's no laughing matter, said Joyce. They then advised him to draw off his men, and in the morning he should speak with the Commissioners. I came not hither to be advised by you, said he, nor have I any business with the Commissioners, my errand is to the King, and speak with him I must and will presently. They then bid the soldiers within stand to their arms, and be ready to fire when ordered. But during this short treaty 'twixt the cornet and the colonel, the soldiers had conference together, and so soon as they understood they were fellow-soldiers of one and the same army, they quickly forgot what they had promised; for they opened the gates and doors, shook one another by the hand, and bad them welcome. So little regard had they to their promise, either in reference to the King's safety, or the Commissioners that attended him.

Entrance being thus given, strict search was made after the colonel, who (tho he was faultless, yet was it suggested he would have privately conveyed the King to London) got happily out of their reach. Sentinels were ordered by Joyce to be set at the Commissioners chamber-doors, that he might with less noise carry on his design, and find way to the back-stairs where the grooms of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber attended. The cornet being come to the door in rude manner knocked; those within asking who it was that in such uncivil manner and so unseasonable a time came to disquiet the King's rest? The cornet replied, his name was Joyce, an officer of the army, sorry he should disquiet the King, but could not help it, for speak with him he would, and that presently.

This strange confidence of his, and the posture he was in (having a cocked pistol in his hand) amazed these four gentlemen, Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Mawl, Mr. Harrington and Mr. Herbert, whose duty it was and care to preserve his Majesty's person, and were resolved to sacrifice their lives rather than give him admittance; they in the first place asked Joyce if he had the Commissioners approbation for his intrusion? He answered, No; for he had ordered a guard to be set at their chamber doors, and that he had his orders from those that feared them not. He still pressed for entrance, and engaged

his word to do the King no harm : they on the other side persuaded him to lay aside his arms and to forbear giving disturbance, the King being then asleep, assuring him that the next morning he should have his Majesty's answer to his errand. The Cornet refused to part with either sword or pistol, and yet insisted to have the chamber door opened. But these gentlemen keeping firm to their resolution that he should not enter, the noise was so loud (which in this contest could not be avoided) as it seems awakened his Majesty, for he rung his silver bell, at which Mr. Maxwell went into the bed-chamber to know the King's pleasure, the other three gentlemen meanwhile securing the door. The King, being acquainted with the business and uncivil carriage of the Cornet, sent word, he would not rise nor speak with him until the morning : which being told the Cornet, he huffed ; but seeing his design could not be effected in the night, he retired : so as for a few hours there was silence.

Morning being come, the King arose a little sooner than ordinary, and, having performed his morning exercise, he sent for Joyce, who with no less confidence than if he had been a supreme officer, approached the King, and acquainted him with the commands he had concerning his removal. The King desired the Commissioners might be sent

for, and his orders communicated to them. The Cornet replied. They were to return back unto the Parliament. By whose appointment? said the King. As to that the Cornet had no answer. The King then said. By your favour, Sir, let them have their liberty, and give me a sight of your instructions. That (said Joyce) you shall see presently; and forthwith drawing up his troop into the inner court as near as he could unto the King. These Sir (said he) are my instructions. The King took a good view of them, and finding them proper men and well mounted and well armed, smilingly told the Cornet, his instructions were in fair characters, legible without spelling. The Cornet then pressing the King to go along with him, no prejudice being intended, but rather satisfaction: the King told him, he would not stir, unless the Commissioners went along with him. The cornet replied, for his part he was indifferent. However the Commissioners in this interim had, by an express, acquainted the Parliament with this violence; and so soon as they perceived his Majesty was inclinable to go with Joyce, and that it was the King's pleasure they should follow him they knew not whither, they immediately made themselves ready. Nevertheless several questions they asked the Cornet, whose answers were insignificant. The Commissioners then seeing reason was of no force to dissuade, nor

menaces to affright, they were willing to attend the King at all adventures.

This audacious attempt exceedingly troubled the Commissioners; and the more, for that they knew not how to help it, as well appeared by their countenances. And indeed it saddened the hearts of many; the King was the merriest of the company, having (it seems) a confidence in the army, especially from some of the greatest there, as it was imagined.

The King (then being in his coach) called the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, as also the Lord Montague, into it; the other Commissioners (members of the House of Commons) being well-mounted, followed; leaving Holmby languishing: for about two years after, that beautiful and famous structure was, amongst other his Majesty's royal houses, pulled down, by order of the two Houses of Parliament, to satisfy the soldiers arrears: whereby the splendour of the kingdom was not a little eclipsed, as by their ruins is now sadly manifested.

His Majesty following his guide, the confident cornet, came that night to Hinchingbrook, heretofore a nunnery, now a fair mansion-house of Colonel Edward Montague, created Earl of Sandwich in the twelfth year of the reign of King Charles II.; which colonel married Jemima, daughter to Mr. Crew, who was created a baron of England the year after. Here his Majesty was treated with

honour and heart welcome, as were also the commissioners and the King's servants. From Hinchingbrook the King went next night to Childersly, a house of Sir John Cuts, about four miles from Cambridge ; where, during his Majesty's three days' stay, many masters, fellows, graduates and scholars of that University repaired, to most of which the King was graciously pleased to give his hand to kiss, for which honour they returned their humble and gratulatory thanks, with a *Vivat Rex.*

Thither also came Sir Thomas Fairfax general of the Parliament army, Lieutenant-general Cromwell, Commissary-General Ireton, Sergeant-Major-General Skippon, Lieutenant - General Hammond, Colonel Lawrence, Colonel Whaley, Colonel Rich, Colonel Dean, and several other field and commission officers of the army, as also Mr. Hugh Peters,[1] Mr. Dell, Mr. Sedgwick, and others ; some of which, so soon as they came into the presence, kissed his Majesty's hand ; the General Sir Thomas Fairfax

[1] Hugh Peters was one of the most interesting figures of the time. Born in Cornwall in 1598, he became a leading Puritan divine, and as such found it expedient to retire to Holland in 1629. He was related by marriage with John Winthorpe, and proceeded to New England in 1635. Here he took a leading part in affairs and came back to England in 1641 on a mission to appeal for help for the Colony. Finding England in a disturbed state, he became a chaplain to the Parliamentary forces and was thenceforth their leading firebrand, being

in the first place, whom the King took aside; and for about half an hour discoursing with him, the General (unasked) disavowed his Majesty's seizure by Joyce at Holmby, as done without his order or approbation (but probably by some other powerful officer of the army, seeing that the cornet was neither at a council of war, nor other where called to question for it).

His Majesty, being now in the custody of the army, was highly caressed by all the great officers, who seldom failed to wait and discourse with him as opportunity offered. But the King had most conference with the General, the Lieutenant-General, the Commissary-General Ireton (who indeed had the greatest influence in the army) and then behaved themselves with civility and due respect to his royal person, which made the King sometimes very pleasant in his discourse with them; nor were the private soldiers wanting, in their way, to oblige all that followed the King with civility.

From Childersley, the King removed to his

especially noted for his inspiring addresses to the troops before going into battle. His sermons against Charles I. led to his own execution as a regicide in 1660. Although exerting an uncanny influence over all with whom he came into contact, he was disliked by everyone. "Never," says the official newspaper, *Mercurius Publicus*, "was person suffered death so unpitied and (which is more) whose execution was the delight of the people."

house at New-Market which was fitted for his reception, as well as that little edifice would admit, and where for some weeks he continued; and thence by messages, repeating to his two houses of Parliament, his desires of a further treaty for peace, that at Uxbridge concluding without any good success.

Whilst the King was there, he would be often upon New-Market Heath to recreate himself, sometimes in his coach, but most part riding. That heath, for good air and pleasure, gives place to no other in this great island, insomuch that King James took exceeding delight there in hunting, hawking, and races, both horse and foot, and much frequented by former princes.

The army officers during his Majesty's residence at New-Market, were constantly attending. The Commissioners likewise continued their waiting on the King; who, in this condition appeared very cheerful, having as 'twas presumed, fair hopes as well as promises, that some of the grandees of the army would be instrumental and, by their undoubted interest with the two Houses and the Army, endeavour a happy understanding and accommodation between him and his Parliament, being in the meantime *sub Dei numine tutus*.

It may not be forgotten, that during his Majesty's stay at New-Market, very many of the gentry and

Charles I. in Parliament.

others, men, women and children, repaired thither, from most parts of Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Essex, and other neighbouring counties, to see the King ; so that the Presence-Chamber was constantly thronged with people, especially when his Majesty was at dinner or supper, and he seldom or never failed to dine in public ; and when the people saw his Majesty withdraw, their prayers in loud acclamations ever followed him. The King still observed his usual hours for private devotion ; and being acquainted that he was in few days to remove thence to Hampton-Court, he seemed much satisfied therewith, both that he might draw nearer his two houses of Parliament, and for that the restraint upon him was there to be taken off, and he to have the exercise of public worship as heretofore, by his chaplains' attendance ; and likewise that those his servants, who were dismissed at Holmby, should have liberty to return and wait in their respective places ; willing nevertheless that the Earl of Pembroke, and the other lords and gentlemen, members of the House of Commons, (their Commissioners) should abide with him, as also the other gentlemen that had attended his Majesty, after his former servants were discharged by the Commissioners.

The King, leaving New-Market, took not the ready way to Hampton Court, his progress being according to the motion of the army ; so that for

the most part he lodged at noblemen's houses, save that at Royston in his own little house, seldom used but when he hunted in those large open fields, where King James took much recreation ; here his Majesty stayed two days, tho the house was capable but of few attendants, and meanly furnished ; the town, nevertheless, being large, made amends, by that good accommodation it afforded the Commissioners and the general officers of the army, as also his Majesty's followers and servants, which then were numerous.

Here it was (if my memory serve right) that a gentleman who was envoy from some German Prince (whose dead father had been a companion to the Knights of the most noble Order of the Garter) made an address to his Majesty, with a letter and return of the George and Garter, which was richly set with diamonds ; and, according to the usual custom, humbly prayed to have his Majesty's directions with whom they should be deposited. The jewels formerly were sent to the master of the King's jewel-house, and the robes deposited with the Dean of Windsor. A military officer, being in the room, was so malapert as to interpose, to the end that he might be privy to this affair, and hear what the envoy had to communicate to the King, who by his frown expressed his displeasure for so great a rudeness towards him, and

incivility to the stranger; but Mr. Babington, the King's barber, standing by, and better understanding good manners, instructed the army officer by removing him further off; with which the King was well pleased, and the officer (no less than a colonel) had a sound reproof soon after from Sir Thomas Fairfax, the General.

From Royston the King removed, June 26th, to Hatfield in Hertfordshire, about thirteen miles north of London; a very noble house belonging to the Lord Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, having a vineyard, gardens and walks full of pleasure, where his Majesty was treated with great civility and observance. Here the King stayed till the first of July; then removing to Windsor, and two days after to Caversham, a fair house of the Lord Craven's, almost opposite to Reading, the River of Thames interposing; to which place repaired his Highness the Prince Elector Palatine, with several of the English nobility, as also Sir Thomas Fairfax, and many officers of the army. On the 15th of July the King went to Maidenhead; and on the 20th to Woburne, heretofore a religious house for the Cistercians or White Monks, as we call them; now a large and fair house of the Lord Russel, Earl of Bedford, where his Majesty was honourably and affectionately welcomed, the Commissioners and attendants entertained with high civility, as were

also the army officers; The Earl of Cleveland with some other noblemen were here, and some late commander of the King's army attending to kiss his Majesty's hand, had the freedom to wait and discourse, which was novel, as times then stood, and an omen of future harmony, as well-wishers to Unity and Peace conjectured.

From Woburne his Majesty removed to Latimers in Buckinghamshire, a little but neat Mansion-house of the Lord Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, the Earl being then there to entertain the King. His Majesty leaving Latimers, 'twas thought he would have removed thence to Berkhampstead, a house once belonging to the King, now to the Cary's; but being unfurnished and unfitted to lodge at, others imagined he would go to Ashridge (not above two miles thence) where the Earl of Bridgewater hath a very noble house and park; but the headquarters being then at St. Albans, his Majesty declined that northern progress, and rode by Cheneys and Rickmansworth to Moore Park, a place of much pleasure, (not above two miles from Watford) heretofore a park and house of retirement to that most noble Lord William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Lord steward of his Majesty's house, but since purchased by the Lord Cary, Earl of Monmouth, with the curious gardens, water-works, etc. where they dined, the King removed that night to Stoke,

being about eight miles from Moore Park, a fair house built by Henry Lord Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon and Lord President of the North; but since purchased by the Lord-Chief-Justice Cook, whose daughter by the Lady Eliz. Cecil (the Earl of Exeter's daughter and widow to the Lord Chancellor Hatton) being married to Sir John Villers, the Duke of Buckingham's brother, it came to him, who in the year 1619. was created baron of this place and Viscount Purbeck. The fourteenth day of August the King removed from Stoke to Oatlands, a large and beautiful house of the Queen's upon the River of Thames; where upon the plaistered wall in the stone-gallery respecting the gardens, were very curiously portrayed that royal edifice (with Pontefract, Havering, Eltham, Nonsuch, and some other palaces assigned to her Majesty) in like manner as you see at Fontainebleau, of several stately houses of the French King's. But alas! this at Oatlands, with Richmond, Theobalds, Holmby, and other magnificent houses in this kingdom were unhappily soon after pulled down to raise money to satisfy the arrears of some regiments of the army; all which, 'tis believed, did not raise half so much as any of those princely houses cost when they were built; such are the miserable effects of civil war. During this progress eleven eminent members of the House of Commons (desirous of

peace) were accused of treason by the Army ; moving that in the interim they might be expelled the House, and accordingly were secluded for six months, insomuch that some of them, leaving this kingdom, died beyond sea.

About the middle of August the King removed to Hampton Court, a most large and imperial house, built by that pompous prelate Cardinal Wolsey, in ostentation of his great wealth, and enlarged by King Henry the Eighth, so as it became a royal palace ; which, for beauty and grandeur, is exceeded by no structure in Europe ; unless it be the Escurial in Spain, which appears so magnificent by having the addition of a fair monastery dedicated to St. Lawrence, wherein live a hundred and fifty monks of the order of St. Jerome, and hath also a college, schools and out-houses built by King Philip II., who married our Queen Mary.

Hampton Court was then made ready for the Court, and by Mr. Kinersly, Yeoman of the Wardrobe and others, prepared with what was needful for the Court. And a Court it now appeared to be, for there was a revival of that lustre it had formerly, his Majesty then having the Nobility about him, his chaplains to perform their duty, the house amply furnished, and his services in the accustomed form and state ; every one of his servants permitted to attend in their respective places ; nothing

then appeared of discrimination; intercourse was free between King and Parliament, and the Army seemed to endeavour a right understanding amongst different parties: which gave hopes of an accommodation: The Commissioners also continued their attendance upon the King, and those gentlemen that waited at Holmby, were, by his Majesty's appointment, kept in their offices and places; the General likewise and other military commanders, were much at Court, and had frequent conference with the King in the Park, and other where attending him; no offence at any time passed amongst the soldiers of either party; there was an amnesty by consent, pleasing, as was thought, to all parties.

His Majesty, during these halcyon days, intimated to the Earl of Northumberland, that he desired to see his children, who, at that time, were under the government of that nobleman, and then in his house at Sion, which is about seven miles from Hampton Court, in the way to London. The relater, amongst other the King's servants, followed his Majesty to Sion, which is denominated from the Holy Mount, so named near Jerusalem. This was first a monastery for monks, but they being by Henry V removed, in their rooms he placed nuns of St. Bridget's Order, and under the same roof (but separated by several walls) put so many priests and friars as were in number equal to Christ with

his apostles and disciples. All which votaries were ejected by King Henry VIII. the church pulled down, and a fair house raised for a retiring place of the Lord Seymour, Duke of Somerset (as was his other great Mansion-house in the Strand) but at present belonging to the Lord Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Here the King met the young Duke of Gloucester, and Princess Elizabeth, who, so soon as they saw their royal father, upon their knees they begged his blessing, who heartily gave it, and was overjoyed to see them so well in health, and so honourably regarded.

The Earl welcomed the King with a very noble treat, and his followers had their tables richly furnished, by his behaviour expressing extraordinary contentment, to see the King and his children together, after such various chances, and so long a separation. Night drawing on, his Majesty returned to Hampton-Court.

The fairest day is seldom without a cloud; for at this time some active and malevolent persons of the army, disguised under the specious name of Agitators, being two selected out of every regiment to meet and debate the concerns of the army, met frequently at Putney, and places thereabouts; who of their own accord, without either authority, (as some aver) or countenance of the General, upon fair pretences had frequent consultations; but

intermeddling with affairs of state, were not unlike those that love to fish in troubled waters, and being men very popular in the army, had thence their impulse and approbation. What the result of councils amongst them was, who knows, or by what spirits agitated? Yet about this time the House was rent, and the Speaker went unto the Army, which soon after marched through London to the Tower, to which was committed the Lord Mayor, and other dissenting citizens, in which confusion the King proposing a treaty, the Agitators, in opposition, published a book, intitled *An Agreement of the People which concerned his Majesty's Person and Safety*. But thence (as was well known) several things in design were rumoured, which fomented parties, and created jealousies and fears, and by some artifice insinuated, and a representation by letter gave his Majesty an occasion of going from Hampton-Court in the night, and in disguise, with two grooms of his Majesty's Bedchamber, Mr. Ashburnham and Mr. Leg, as also Sir John Berkley; and about the middle of November. An. 1647. past through a private door into the park, where no sentinel was, and at Thames-Ditton crossed the river, to the amazement of the Commissioners, who had not the least fore-knowledge or apprehension of the King's fears or intentions, and no less to the astonishment of the lords, and other his Majesty's

servants, the Commissioners especially, who in this ignorance expressed great trouble of mind, until the Lord Montague opened a letter his Majesty left upon his table, directed to him, giving a hint of what induced him to hasten thence in such a manner, being for self-preservation, yet kindly acknowledging their civility to his person all along, with his good acceptance of their loyalty and service.

His Majesty being thus gone from Hampton Court, the King's servants went with sad hearts to their several homes, and the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, the Lord Montague, Sir John Holland, Sir James Harrington, Sir John Cooke, with the rest of the Commissioners, having acquainted the Parliament with the King's departure and the letter he was pleased to leave behind him, they immediately received an invitation from both Houses to return to Westminster, which accordingly they observed, and for their long and faithful service had thanks from the Parliament.

After few days it was known that the King was gone to Tichfield, a fair house of the Earl of Southampton, and that upon the 13th. November 1647. he had crossed the sea and was safe landed at Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where Colonel Hammond, the Governour, was attending, and passing through Newport (the principal town in that island) the Governour, with alacrity and

confidence, conducted his Majesty to Carisbrook Castle, attended only by Sir John Berkley, and those two gentlemen, his servants, lately mentioned. Sure I am, many that cordially loved the King, did very much dislike his going to this place, it being so remote, and designed neither for his honour nor safety ; as the consequences proved. A gentlewoman, as his Majesty passed through Newport, presented him with a damask-rose which grew in her garden at that cold season of the year, and prayed for him, which his Majesty heartily thanked her for.

CHAPTER III

CHARLES'S LETTERS, AND MAJOR HUNTINGTON'S NARRATIVE

On November 11th Colonel Whaley, who had charge of Charles at Hampton Court, received the following letter, which he showed to the King:

May it please your Majesty.

In discharge of my duty I cannot omit to acquaint you, that my brother was at a meeting last night with eight or nine Agitators; who in debate of the obstacle which did most hinder the speedy effecting of their design, did conclude it was your Majesty. And as long as your Majesty doth live it would be so: And therefore did resolve for the good of the Kingdom, to take your life away and that to that action they were well assured, that Mr. Dell and Mr. Peters, two of their preachers, would willingly bear them company, for they had often said to their Agitators, Your Majesty is but a dead dog. My prayers are for your Majesty's safety, but I do too much fear, it cannot be whilst you are in those hands.

I wish with my soul your Majesty were at my

house in Broad Street, where I am confident I could keep you private till this storm were over, but beg your Majesty's pardon, and shall not presume to offer it as an advice, it is only constant zeal to your service, who am,

Your most dutiful subject, E. R.

The Colonel passed on this letter to Charles, who consulted with some of his oldest friends. They suspected it to be a ruse of the King's enemies, who hoped to drive him to flight and use his act for his undoing. On the other hand it seemed probable that the writer might be aware of some plot against the King's life, and that his warning should be regarded. At any rate, Charles determined to flee. He left behind him letters for Colonel Whaley, Lord Montague and the Parliament.

To Colonel Whaley he said:

I have been civily used by you, and Major Huntington: I cannot but by this parting farewel, acknowledge it under my hand, as also to desire your protecting my household-stuff and movables of all sorts, which I have left behind me in this house, etc.

I assure you it was not the letter that you shewed me today that made me take this resolution, nor any advertisement of that kinde; but I confesse that I am loath to be made a close prisoner, under pretence of securing my life: So being confident that you wish my preservation and restitution I rest,

Your friend, Charles Rex.

The letter to Lord Montague was in a similar strain :

Montague,

First I do hereby give you and the rest of your fellows thanks, for the civilities and the good conversation that I have had from you : Next I command you to send this my message (which you will find upon this table) to the two Houses of Parliament, and likewise to give a copy of it to Colonel Whaley to be sent to the General : Likewise I desire you to send all my saddle-horses to my son, the Duke of York. As for what concerns the resolution I have taken, my declaratorie message saies so much, that I refer you to it ; and so I rest,

Your assured friend, C. Rex.

In his long message to the Parliament Charles unburdened his mind of some of his grievances, apportioned blame, restated principles, and repeated his plea to be heard with safety and respect :

Charles Rex.

Liberty being that which in all times hath been, but especially now is the common theme and desire of all men ; common reason shewes, that Kings less than any should endure captivity. And yet I call God and the world to witnesse, with what patience I have endured a tedious restraint ; which so long as I had any hopes that this sort of my suffering might conduce to the peace of my Kingdom,

or the hindering of more effusion of blood, I did willingly undergo : But not finding by too certain proofs, that this my continued patience, would not only turn to my personal ruin, but likewise be of much more prejudice, than furtherance to the public good, I thought I was bound, as well by natural as by political obligations, to seek my safety, by retiring myself for some time from the public view, both of my friends and enemies. And I appeal to all indifferent men to judge, if I have not just cause, to free myself from the hands of those who change their principles with their conditions, and who are not ashamed openly to intend the destruction of the Nobility, taking away their Negative Voice, and with whom the Levellers doctrine is rather countenanced than punished : And as for their intentions to my person, their changing and putting more strict guards upon me, with the discharging most of all those servants of mine, who formerly they willingly admitted to wait upon me, does sufficiently declare. Nor would I have this my retirement misinterpreted, for I shall earnestly and uncessantly endeavour the settling of a safe and well-grounded peace wherever I am or shall be ; and that (as much as may be) without the effusion of more Christian blood ; for which how many times have I desired, prest to be heard, and yet no ear given to me ? And can any reasonable

man think, that (according to the ordinary course of affairs) there can be a setled peace without it? Or that God will bless those, who refuse to hear their King? Surely no. Nay I must further add, that (besides what concerns myself) unless all other chief interests have not only a hearing, but likewise just satisfaction given unto them (to wit, the Presbyterian, Independents, Army, those that have adhered to me, and even the Scots) I say there cannot (I speak not of miracles, it being in my opinion a sinful presumption in such cases, to expect or trust to them) be a safe or lasting peace.

Now as I cannot deny but that my personal security is the urgent cause of this my retirement; so I take God to witness that the public peace is no less before my eyes, and I can find no better way to express this my profession (I know not what a wiser may do) than by desiring and urging that all chief interests may be heard, to the end each may have just satisfaction. As for example, the Army (for the rest though necessary, yet I suppose are not difficult to content) ought (in my judgment) to enjoy the liberty of their consciences, have an Act of Oblivion or Indemnity (which should extend to all the rest of my subjects) and that all their arrears should be speedily and duly paid, which I will undertake to do, so I may be heard, and that

I be not hindered from using such lawful and honest means as I shall chuse.

To conclude, let me be heard with freedom, honour and safety, and I shall instantly break through this cloud of retirement, and shew myself really to be *Pater Patriæ*.

Hampton Court, Novemb. 11. 1647.

For the Speaker of the House of Peeres *pro tempore*, etc.

Major Huntington, the officer mentioned in Charles's letter to Colonel Whaley, supplies the clue to the marked declension in the King's fortunes during his stay at Hampton Court in his narrative of the dealings of Charles with Cromwell. There are no good grounds for doubting that Cromwell, without the knowledge of the Parliament, and perhaps of Fairfax, at this time contemplated putting Charles back on his throne, his wings, of course, well clipped, and his Army behind him, and surrounding him. Negotiations broke down, however, when it was proved that Queen Henrietta Maria was intriguing with the Scottish Royalists. Charles was unable to satisfy the Army that he had no part in these negotiations and Cromwell had no further use for him. He became, in the words of the letter, "but a dead Dog." His ultimate fate became almost inevitable.

MAJOR HUNTINGTON'S NARRATIVE.[1]

At such time as the King was brought by Joyce (a Cornet of Horse in the Parliament Army) from

[1] The Relation which Major Huntington made to me, Sir William Dugdale Knt. (Garter-Principal King of Arms) in the month of June, Anno. 1679, of sundry particulars relating to King Charles I. of Blessed Memory.

Holdenby (in Northamptonshire) notice was first given thereof to General Fairfax, by a private soldier, who rode to him in great haste, he then being with Major Huntington alone, near a river side at Kenton (not far from New-Market in Cambridgeshire) that being the head-quarter of the Army, which lay thereabout.

General Fairfax being not a little surprised with the news, by reason he knew not of any order given for it, seem'd apprehensive and so expressed, that this action might again engage them in blood; whereupon he speedily walked up to town, where he found Cromwell (with Watson a Scoutmaster), alighting from horseback, being newly returned from the Parliament, whence he came in the night with great speed, having the day before assured the House, that in obedience to their votes for disbanding part of the Army, and sending part into Ireland, he had so qualified their jealousies (which were such and so great at that time, as that the Army being rendezvouzed at Triplo-Heath, would march up to Westminster and dissolve them) that some of them said he deserved a statue of gold.

Upon this arrival of Cromwell, the General and he agreed, that Major Huntington should immediately hasten away to the King, to prevent his coming to New-Market (which was near at hand) the Army quartering thereabouts; who forthwith took horse

accordingly, and meeting the King about two miles from Childerly (accompanied by such of the Lords and Commons as the Parliament had appointed to attend him at Holdenby) acquainted them with his errand, but they declined to meddle therein, by reason his Majesty was taken from under their charge.

Whereupon the King taking notice of Major Huntington's discourse with them, called to him, and demanding his business, did soon receive a satisfactory answer. For tho' he found the King much bent to go to New-Market (in regard it was one of his own houses) yet representing to him his fears of some disturbance in the Army, and danger to his person ; as also that his house there was at present unfurnished with provisions necessary for his reception, prevailed with him to go to Childerly (the Lady Cutt's house) where he found good entertainment.

Being thus got to Childerly, Fairfax and Cromwell came to him the next day, or the day after, of whom his Majesty enquiring, whether it was by their, or either of their authority, that he was thus fetched from Holdenby ; and they both disowning it, he reply'd, That unless you hang up Joyce, I will not believe what you say. Being thus at Childerly, both Fairfax and Cromwell made large professions of their fidelity to him, and that he should have the

liberty to go to New-Market, which was soon done.

There it was, that Cromwell made large professions, first gave his Majesty hopes of restauration, and that he would be continually instrumental therein; and as an earnest thereof, presently gave way, that divers of his own trusty servants and chaplains should have leave to come to him, and to serve him in their respective places. All which had been deny'd him, not only by the Scots, when he had fled to them from Oxford, but by the Parliament (who had bought him of those their dear brethern) during the whole time he was under their power, by a strong Guard at Holdenby, commanded by Colonel Graves; and accordingly Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Holdsworth, his chaplains, with divers of his servants, were permitted to come thither (viz. to New-Market) and to attend him in their respective places.

After which, ere long, they brought him to Hampton-Court, most men hoping that Cromwell, who had the greatest influence on the Army, out of an intuition of firmly establishing himself and his family in his Majesty's favour, and obtaining what wealth and honour he desired, would fully restore him and the whole kingdom to their just rights.

His Commissary-General, Ireton, who had married a daughter of Cromwell's, and had the most

power with him of any man (as was very well known) being totally averse to that Presbyterian Government, which the then predominant party in Parliament had resolved to set up, boldly expressing (but in private) so great an indignation against it, and such an entire affection to the King, and of an hearty sense of his patient sufferings and unparallell'd condescensions, said at Colebrook, That rather than his Majesty should continue thus enslav'd by that vile party, if but five men would joyn with him, he would adventure his life in order to his redemption ; Cromwell himself, having for the same reasons, afterwards at Putney, solemnly said, That if ten men would but stick to him, he would hazard his life and fortune for him upon the same score : or words to that effect.

Being thus at Hampton-Court, where the like unreasonable and enslaving propositions were brought to him from the Parliament, as he had received thence when he was at Newcastle and Holdenby, having no small hopes of his restauration through the power of Cromwell, who had the greatest influence on the Army, and being well aware, that the predominant party in Parliament did still aim to establish themselves in perpetual dominion ; as also, that in order thereto, they did resolve so to garble the Army, according to their own interest, whereby the present strength thereof was like to

be broke in pieces, and a new model set up, consisting of those who should hold fast to the Covenant. His Majesty plainly foreseeing how destructive this needs must be, not only to himself and his royal family, but even to monarchic-government, thought fit, in his answer to those their proposals, to take care of the Army's interest, which he then looked upon as friends to himself and the publique.

But before he would absolutely resolve what answer to make, he call'd Major Huntington privately to him, and told him, he must resolve him a short question he would then ask; which was, whether he could assure him, that Cromwell was the same in his heart to him as he had by his tongue so freely and frequently expressed himself to be. At which question the Major being not a little stagger'd, and fearing the danger of an uncertain and unsafe answer, intreated respite till the next day at noon; which being given him, he went privily by night to Cromwell, whom he found early in the morning in bed at Putney; and having rais'd him up in his night-gown, acquainted him with the occasion of his coming at such a time.

Whereupon Cromwell in brief answered; That he did really and uprightly mean and intend from his heart to perform the same to his utmost, which he had formerly so often profess'd to the King, that he would do; which was the full restoring

and establishing him in his just and lawful rights; inprecating, that neither himself nor his wife or children might ever prosper if he did not restore him as before he had professed, in case the Army remained an Army; and if not they were bound to fall with him; and that he himself would stand by him, if there were but ten men left to stick to him, with most bitter and distasteful reflections upon that rigid party in Parliament, which by their Presbyterian principles and practices, did merely design to enslave him.

But notwithstanding all this the Major was so cautious, that he conditioned with Cromwell, that if anything should thenceforth happen, which might hinder the accomplishment of this his fair intention, that the King might have timely notice thereof, to the end that he might endeavour to avoid the danger.

Which being assented to, he returned to his Majesty, and with a cheerful countenance (not suspecting the contrary of what he had with such seeming confidence been assured) imparted to him the substance of what had passed betwixt 'em.

Whereupon the King forming his answer to these proposals from the Parliament (so brought to him as abovesaid) sent them by Major Huntington to Cromwell and Ireton, to be perused, with the liberty to add and alter what they should think fit; which being done by them and returned to him, he wrote it anew, and sent it to Westminster.

But see the horrid perfidiousness of these grand impostors (Cromwell and Ireton) no sooner was this candid and gracious answer of the King imparted to the House of Commons, but both of them appeared with the highest in their invectives against it.

The news whereof being forthwith brought to the King, he call'd for Major Huntington, and acquainting him therewith, sent him to Cromwell, to require a reason thereof; whose answer was, that what he then had said in the House of Commons, was to sound the depth of those virulent humours, wherewith the Presbyterians (whom he knew to be no friends to the King) were possessed.

After which Cromwell never came to his Majesty.

Major Huntington therefore observing that Cromwell thus declin'd the King, made it his business to observe the councils of the Army at Putney; and finding at length how dangerous they grew in reference to his Majesty, gave private advertisement thereof, to the end he might consider which way best to preserve himself.

Whereupon, resolving to get privately from Hampton-Court to the City of London, Major Huntington undertook to find him out a secure lodging there; and accordingly leaving him did prepare such a one. His Majesty determining that, so soon as he should get safe thither, to let the Major have knowledge thereof.

Mask of Cromwell taken during his life.

And now at length being fully sensible of that he had long feared, which was, that notwithstanding his clear and candid dealing with them in all respects, and that he did so far rely upon them, that he had strictly prohibited all those of his faithful subjects, which had served him in his armies, that they should not join with the Scots, in case they did raise an army in that realm, in order to his restauration, as Cromwell then seemed to suggest (though nothing less would have been the effects thereof, considering it was founded on the Covenant) he was to expect no better than destruction and ruin to himself and his posterity, and slavery to all his good subjects. He caused a boat to be laid by the river side, and upon the 11th of November, about the beginning of the night, went alone from the Privy-lodgings, through a door where no guard stood into the Park, and so crossing the Thames, landed at Ditton, where Sir John Berkeley (afterwards Lord Berkeley of Shalton) John Ashburnham and Colonel William Legg (sometimes grooms of his Bed-Chamber) were placed with horses.

But so it happened that when the King was gone on shore, and had stayed some time for them, Mr. Ashburnham dissuaded him from going to London, and led him into Hantshire; where his Majesty demanding of him, to what place he intended to bring him? He answered into the Isle of Wight,

whereof Colonel Hammond was governour, in whom Mr. Ashburnham seemed to have no little confidence.[1]

To which his Majesty replied, that he would not adventure himself thither, unless he might have sufficient assurance under the governour's hand for his security from any danger; and thereupon sent Mr. Ashburnham and Sir John Berkeley into the Isle to treat with Hammond to that purpose: staying himself with Colonel Legg at Tichfield House (belonging to the Earl of Southampton) till they returned; but strictly charging them that they should not let Hammond know where he was, unless he would freely give them full assurance under his hand for his freedom, and to return when he pleased.

But instead of observing these his Majesty's directions, they came back and brought Hammond with them; and being come to Tichfield, went to the King (then in his bed-chamber) leaving Hammond below; telling him what they had done.

Whereat the King, being not a little amazed, asked them if they had a promise under Hammond's hand for his security?, and they replying No, but

[1] Colonel Hammond was a son of the brother of Dr. Hammond, Charles's chaplain.

As the measures against Charles became more strict, Cromwell became distrustful of the Colonel's continued fidelity to himself, and finally removed him from his command in the Isle of Wight, before proceeding to extreme measures with the King.

that he would approve himself a man of honour; he plainly told them, that they had betrayed him, or words to that effect, concluding that he was no better than his prisoner.

Which sharp resentment of his condition touched them so near, that they offered to kill Hammond, and take some other course for His Majesty's safety. But to this their vain proposal, the King did utterly refuse to assent, rather choosing to yield up himself a sacrifice to those blood-thirsty men, who had resolved his destruction and the subversion of the government, than to be guilty of assenting to take away the life of that one vile rebel in cold blood: and thereupon putting himself into the hands of that unworthy person, was by him kept in no better condition than a prisoner; until he was, by his consent, taken away by the direction of Cromwell and the rest of those bloody regicides, which brought him to the block.

Colonel Huntington further saith, that Cromwell having made such deep protestations of his purpose to stand firm to the King as aforesaid; whether out of any real jealousie that the Scots might raise an army to rescue him out of their hands, unto whom the English, which had served his Majesty, might also join themselves and thereby have the honour to restore him: or whether it was merely a subtle pretence, whereby he might have some colour to

fall off from what he had seemed so cordially to assure the King, in order to beget his Majesty's greater trust in him, he knew not. But hereupon he saith, That Cromwell employed him to sound the King as to his knowledge or privity of any such design; which he privately performing, the King did utterly disclaim it; assuring him, if they could prove that any one of his English officers had, by his authority, confederated with the Scots to that purpose, they should conclude him guilty of all that they did so surmise: and that he did only depend on those solemn promises that Cromwell had made unto him, that by his only means and influence upon the Army under his command his restauration (as Cromwell had with great confidence assured) should be accomplished.

And as to the ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, he saith, That after the King was brought to Hampton-Court, his Majesty there acquainting him with the loss of that book at Naseby's fight, and desiring him to use his interest to regain it; he did apply himself to General Fairfax, and by his means obtained it, it being bound up in a white vellum cover, and (as he well remembers) all the chapters in it were written by the hand of Sir Edward Walker,[1] but much corrected with interlineations by the King's own hand) which, he says, he very well knew so to be.

[1] The King's Secretary.

CHAPTER IV

SIR THOMAS HERBERT'S NARRATIVE, CONTINUED

CARISBROOK CASTLE is the only place of defence within that island, albeit, upon the marine, the isle hath many forts, or block-houses. Its name is derived from Whitgare, a Saxon, corruptly contracted to Garisbrook. The isle being subdued at the Conquest by William FitzOsborne, Earl of Hereford, he built this castle, which in King Henry III, his time, was enlarged by Isabel de Fortibus, sister and heir to Baldwyn, Earl of Devon and Albemarle, who founded there a priory, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, for Benedictines or Black Monks, as we call them. The castle was new built (or enlarged rather) by order of King Henry VIII. and by Queen Elizabeth regularly fortified; so as the outworks are large, and planted with great ordnance, and has served as a place of retreat for the islanders against the French and Spaniard, when the English were in war with them.

Thither, (so soon as the King's being there was rumoured), repaired several of his old servants, and some new, such as his Majesty at that time thought fit to nominate, (for some weeks there was

no prohibition, any that were desirous to see his Majesty might without opposal) or that, according to the duty of their place, were to give their attendance. His Majesty had free liberty to ride and recreate himself anywhere within the isle, when and where he pleased; the only want was that his chaplains, Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Hammond, were not long tolerated to perform their office, which was no little grief to him, in regard he had no disposition to hear those that exercised according to the Directory which was then practised; but hindered not his private devotion, which every day he carefully attended, and the Lord's Day he observed, by reading the Bible, and other books fitting for prayer and meditation in his oratory.

Howbeit, this liberty of refreshing in the isle abroad was of no long duration; for about the middle of February, Colonel Hammond, the Governour (soon after the King arose from dinner) came into the Presence, which was under his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, and in solemn manner addressed himself to the King; and after a short preamble, said, He was sorry to acquaint his Majesty with the orders he received the night before from his superiors, and then pausing awhile, the King bid him speak out. The Governour replied, His orders were to forbid Mr. Ashburnham, Mr. Legg and the rest of his servants that were with him at Oxford,

any further waiting on his person in that castle and garrison, the jealousies and apprehensions of those times judging it inconvenient to continue such in their attendance about his person.

The King, by his short silence, seemed surprised, and, by his countenance, appeared to be troubled.[1] Such as were at that time in the Presence noted it; but not knowing the occasion of his Majesty's sadness, they seemed full of grief, as by their dejected looks

[1] A part of the conversation is preserved in the Clarendon MSS. :—

King Charles.—Why do you use me thus? Where are your orders for it? Was it the spirit that moved you to it? . . . Did you not engage your honour you would take no advantage from thence against me?

Hammond.—I said nothing.

King Charles.—You are an equivocating gentleman; will you allow me any chaplains? You pretend for liberty of conscience—shall I have none?

Hammond.—I cannot allow you any chaplain.

King Charles.—You use me neither like a gentleman nor a christian.

Hammond.—I 'll speak to you when you are in better temper.

King Charles.—I have slept well to-night.

Hammond.—I have used you very civilly.

King Charles.—Why do you not so now, then?

Hammond.—Sir, you are too high.

King Charles.—My shoe-maker's fault, then, my shoes are of the same last, etc. (twice or thrice to this purpose). . . . Shall I have liberty to go about to take the air?

Hammond.—No; I cannot grant it.

was visible. But the King beckoning with his hand to Mr. Ashburnham and some others, he told them what the Governour had communicated, and what he expected not, nor was agreeable to what some considerable persons had promised. But no remedy but patience, which in these straits he commonly had recourse unto, and is the noble way of overcoming.

His Majesty's servants were much perplexed, and to expostulate with Colonel Hammond, knew it would be to no purpose; the only comfort remaining was, that they were not excluded their Royal master's affection, which supported them. Next day, after the King had dined, those gentlemen came all together, and prostrating themselves at his Majesty's feet, prayed God for his preservation, and, kissing his hand, departed.[1]

This done, the day following a restraint began of the King's going any more abroad into the Isle of Wight, his Majesty being then confined to Carisbrook Castle and line without, albeit within the works a place sufficiently large and convenient for the King's walking and having good air, and a

[1] They went to Netley Castle on the mainland, where they remained and were active in their task of aiding the King in various ways, of which the chief was facilitating his correspondence with his family and friends. They kept in touch with Royalists on the Island and held themselves ready to help the King if he decided to attempt an escape.

delightful prospect both to the sea and the land : and for his Majesty's solace and recreation, the Governour converted the Barbacan, a spacious parading ground within the line, tho without the Castle, into a bowling-green, scarce to be equalled and at one side built a pretty summer-house for retirement. At vacant hours these afforded the King most recreation, for the building within the Castle walls had no gallery, nor rooms of state, nor garden, so as his Majesty, constantly in the forenoons, exercised himself in the walks without, and in the afternoons there also, and in the bowling-green or Barbacan, nevertheless both times he carefully observed his usual times set apart for his devotion and for writing. Mr. Harrington and Mr. Herbert continued waiting on his Majesty in the bed-chamber ; he gave Mr. Herbert the charge of his books, of which the King had a catalogue, and from time to time had brought unto him, such as he was pleased to call for. The sacred Scripture was the book he most delighted in, read often in Bp. Andrews *Sermons*, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Dr. Hammond's works, *Villalpandus upon Ezekiel*, etc., Sands's *Paraphrase upon King David's Psalms, Herbert's divine poems ;* and also *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, writ in Italian by Torquato Tasso, and done into English heroic verse by Mr. Fairfax, a poem his Majesty much commended, as he did also *Ariosto* by Sir John Harrington, a

facetious poet, much esteemed of by Prince Henry his master; Spencer's *Fairy Queen* and the like, for alleviating his spirits after serious studies. And at this time it was (as is presumed) he composed his book called *Suspiria Regalia,* published soon after his death, and entitled *The King's Pourtraiture in his Solitudes and Sufferings,* which manuscript Mr. Herbert found amongst those books his Majesty was pleased to give him (those excepted which he bequeathed to his children, hereafter mentioned) in regard Mr. Herbert, tho he did not see the King write that book, his Majesty being always private when he writ, and those his servants never coming into the bed-chamber, when the King was private, until he called; yet comparing it with his handwriting in other things, found it so very like, as induces the belief that it was his own handwriting, having seen much of the King's writing before; and so to instance particulars, in that his Majesty's translation of Dr. Saunderson, the late Bishop of Lincoln's book *De Juramentis,* or like title, concerning oaths, all of it translated into English, and writ with his own hand; and which, in his bed-chamber, he was pleased to show his servants Mr. Harrington and Mr. Herbert, and commanding them to examine it with the original, they found it accurately translated; which his Majesty not long after shewed the Bishop of London, Dr. Juxon, and also Dr.

Hammond, and Dr. Sheldon, his Majesty's chaplains-in-ordinary (which first and last were afterwards Archbishops of Canterbury) such time as they waited upon him at Newport in the Isle of Wight, during the treaty. In many of his books he delighted himself with the motto *Dum spiro spero;* which he wrote frequently as the emblem of his hopes as well as endeavours for a happy agreement with his Parliament. A harmony and good accomodation he heartily desired, and a fair end to all matters that made this unhappy separation: meantime alleviating his mind by an honourable and cheerful submission to the Almighty, who in his wisdom orders and disposes all things according to his good pleasure, and who, in all his trials during his disconsolate condition, marvellously supported him with an unparalleled patience. In one of his books he wrote this distich;

Rebus in adversis facile est contemnare vitam:
Fortiter ille facit qui miser esse potest.

And out of another poet, against the Levelling and Anti-monarchick spirits which predominated at the time:

Fallitur egregio quisquis sub Principe credit,
Servitium; numquam libertas gratior extat,
Quam sub Rege pio.—CLAUDIAN.

with many others which are memorable and express his delight in Learning. For he understood authors in the originals, whether Greek, Latin, French, Spanish or Italian, which three he spoke perfectly ; and none better read in histories of all sorts, which rendered him accomplished, and also would discourse well in Arts and Sciences, and indeed not unfitted for any subject.

Notwithstanding this restraint, which the Governour was strict in (probably in pursuance of his instructions) nevertheless several diseased persons, troubled with the Evil,[1] resorted thither from remote parts to be touched ; and, after some stay in Newport or other villages thereabout, made means to get within the line, and when the King went out of the Castle, towards his usual walk about the Barbacan, they had their wished opportunity to present themselves afore him, and he touched them.

About this time one Mr. Sedgwick (sometime preacher in the Parliament Army) came to Carisbrook Castle, and desired Col. Hammond the Governour's, leave to address himself to the King. Mr. Harrington being acquainted with the occasion, told his Majesty, That a minister was purposely come from London, to discourse with him about his spiritual concerns, and was desirous to present his Majesty with a book

[1] The King's Evil, *i.e.* scrofula.

he had largely writ for his Majesty's perusal, which (as the gentleman said) if his Majesty would please to read, he supposed might be of much advantage to him, and comfort in that his uncomfortable condition. The King thereupon came forth, and Mr. Sedgwick, in decent manner, gave his Majesty the book, the title whereof was, *Leaves of the Tree of Life*, being an explication of the second verse of the 22nd. chapter of the Revelation of St. John. His Majesty, after he had read some part thereof, returned it to him with this short admonition and judgment, That, by what he had read in that book, he believed the composer stood in some need of sleep. The King's advice being taken in the best sense, the minister departed with seeming satisfaction.

Next day one Mr. Harrington, a gentleman of a fair estate near Bath in Somersetshire (son of Sir John Harrington, afore-mentioned) came in like sort to Carisbrook Castle, upon the same charitable account. But his Majesty, having heard something concerning him, thanked him likewise for his good intentions, having no mind to enter into discourse with him upon controversial points; so as that gentleman also returned next homewards, having first wished the King much happiness.

His Majesty having thought fit to send a gracious message to his two Houses of Parliament, in the evening he gave it, sealed up, (and directed to the

Speaker of the House of Lords *pro tempore*) to his servant Mr. Herbert, with a letter to his daughter the Princess Elizabeth, who was then at St. James's House near Whitehall with her governess. The wind was not favourable, so as Mr. Herbert had much ado to cross the sea from Cowes to Southampton ; but in regard the King had ordered to make haste, so as the letter might be delivered next day before the House rose, no delay was suffered. Being landed he immediately took post for London. It may not be forgotten, that at one stage, the post-master (a malevolent person) having notice that the packet came from the King, and required extraordinary speed ; mounted Mr. Herbert upon a horse that had neither good eyes nor feet, so as he usually stumbled very much, which, with deep ways (being winter) and dark night, in all probability might have abated his speed, but (through God's goodness) the horse (tho at his full gallop most part of that twelve miles riding) neither stumbled nor fell, which at the next stage was admired. The King's packet was delivered to the Lord Grey of Warke, (at that time Speaker to the Lords' House) within the time limited ; which done, he waited upon the Princess Elizabeth, then at St. James's who gave him her hand to kiss, being overjoyed with her royal father's kind letter ; to which she returned another by Mr. Herbert, who

had the King's approbation at his coming to Carisbrook, for his diligence.

It was upon the 15th. of April, the Princess Henrietta[1] (wife to the Duke of Orleans afterwards) left Exeter (the place of her birth) and took ship for France to the Queen; and upon the 15th. of April, two years after that, the Duke of York escaped from St. James's and went to the Prince, then in Holland.

Whilst these things were acting, the Scots, to regain their credit for delivering the King into the hands of the English (contrary to their promise when he left Oxford, and intrusting himself with them, when they beseiged Newark, as formerly hinted) upon a pretence to reinthrone the King. In or about May 1648, a Committee of Danger (as they termed it) was by an Assembly of the States, in order thereto, constituted at Edinburgh, consisting of eight burgesses, who being assembled, voted the raising an army of 40,000 men, to be commanded by Duke Hamilton, with whom Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and some other colonels, gave the Duke an assurance to assist with 3,000 horse and foot. All expedition was used to raise this army, that

[1] Henrietta Maria was already on her flight to France when the little Princess was born at Exeter. After a few days' rest the Queen continued her journey, leaving the baby, Henrietta, to follow at a more convenient time.

they might make their invasion with the least opposition; having notice also from London and other parts, that upon the votes of making no further address, or receiving any message from the King, and that a closer restraint was by Colonel Hammond thereupon put upon his Majesty at Carisbrook Castle, great discontents and murmurs arose amongst the people, in sundry parts of the nation, that broke out into insurrections; which, and with the intelligence Duke Hamilton had, that Sir Thomas Fairfax was engaged by the King's party, in Kent, Surrey, and other counties about London, and that Lieutenant-General Cromwell at the same time was busied about the reducement of Pembroke-Castle, and other fortified places in the remotest parts of South Wales, animated the Scots the more to quicken their march into England, notwithstanding, the number of their forces were with such difficulty raised, as they lost their opportunity, as being unable to raise above one third of the number they intended; nor did they enter England until the 13th of July, 1648.

A little before this, the Londoners, in great multitudes, petitioned both Houses of Parliament, that the secluded members might be recalled, and those others released, who were then under restraint, and be permitted to sit, as formerly; part of their request was granted, upon their willingness to let

Major-General Skippon command the City-Militia; which being granted, several regiments were quartered in London, as also in Somerset-House in the Strand, the Mews, and White-Hall the rest of the army having quarters assigned more remote from London. The Essex and Surrey men likewise petitioned the two Houses, that the army might be satisfied their arrears, and then disbanded, and that the late vote for making no further address to the King, might be nulled, and that they would comply with his Majesty's proposal for a personal treaty.

That word, disbanding, sounded harshly in the soldiers ears, insomuch as some of them affronted the Petitioners, so that from words they fell to blows, which was taken in ill part by many; but especially by such of their Kentish neighbours, as inclined to the regal party, who resenting the bad usage the Surrey Petitioners had received, made that and the King's restraint the pretence of their sudden rising in arms, insomuch as upwards of 10,000 men, headed by Mr. Hales, and some other persons of note living there, publickly declared for King and Parliament.

This was soon known to that part of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army that quartered thereabout; for Colonel Rich, with his horse regiment, and Colonel Hewson, with his foot, fell upon a party near Gravesend, so as in disorder they made towards

Maidstone, which place they fortified as well as few hands and little time gave leave, tho to small purpose, those regiments marching after them with speed; nevertheless the dispute was very sharp, the Kentish men stood so well to their arms, and made such opposition, so that the fight was for some hours maintained with great resolution on both sides, and many were killed in the conflict; howbeit, in conclusion, the Parliament soldiers had the better of the day, and took many prisoners, the rest that escaped marched towards the Thames, and with others rendezvouzed upon Blackheath, where several officers and soldiers that had served in the King's army repaired to them, which so increased their number, as induced the Lord Goring, Earl of Norwich, to command that little army, who having intelligence that Sir Thomas Fairfax was with several regiments of horse and foot advancing against him, he thought fit to decline the engagement until he had a reinforcement, and in order thereto, he crossed the Thames near Greenwich into Essex, where Sir Charles Lucas joined him with 2,000 horse and foot; amongst which were many principal commanders, namely, the Lord Capell, the Lord Loughborough, and other officers of note; and being near 4,000 men, they marched to Colchester, where expecting a seige in short space, with the help of many hands, they regularly fortified it.

Sir Thomas Fairfax had quick intelligence of their proceedings, so as he ordered Colonel Hewson and Colonel Rich with their regiments to quiet the Kentish commotion, and with the rest of the army he drew towards Colchester, which he closely beseiged, about the middle of June, 1648.

At this time was Lieutenant-General Cromwell hurried about the reducement of the strong castle of Pembroke (the utmost part of South Wales) which was defended by Major-General Langhorn, Colonel Powell, and Colonel Poyer, men of signal courage and interest in those parts.

The Scots also, under Duke Hamilton's command, about this time (which was the first week in July 1648) entered this kingdom near to Carlisle (Sir Philip Musgrave governour) Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with his brigade, joining with them. Much about this time also a great part of the Navy, by procurement of Vice-Admiral Batten (in whose place the two Houses of Parliament had put Colonel Ranesbrough) declared for the King, and put themselves under the command of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York going abroad, having in a disguise left St. James's, and the Earl of Northumberland, his governour, and with one servant escaped, and got into Holland (there being also aboard Prince Rupert, and sundry other noblemen and gentlemen of quality, with 2,000 soldiers, who

being under sail quickly, the wind favouring, landed at Yarmouth, in expectation of increasing their numbers in Norfolk, and the neighbouring counties, who had during the late war, appeared for the King; but failing to come to his assistance, and hearing that Colonel Scroop was with a considerable force upon a speedy March thitherward, the Prince, by advice of a council of war, was persuaded to ship his men, and to direct his course towards Sandwich or Deal in Kent, to countenance those that had declared for the King; but his coming was too late, the Parliamentary forces there having worsted the King's Party. So as the Prince, finding the opportunity lost, and his fleet in want of provisions, weighing anchor, he returned into the Netherlands.

Nevertheless, about the beginning of July, the Earl of Holland, seconded by the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Francis Villiers, his brother, the Earl of Peterborough, and several others of note, made a second attempt in Kent, upon his Majesty's behalf, appearing with a considerable party of Horse and Foot and marching in good order into Surrey, drew up near Kingston upon Thames, in hopes that several officers and private soldiers, who had served the King, would have come into their rendezvous; but few appearing to reinforce them, they marched towards Rygate, about a dozen

miles from Kingston, which, e'er they could reach, they were engaged by Colonel Rich his regiment of Horse, and after a sharp skirmish, forced to retreat back towards Kingston, and endeavouring to make good a pass between Ewel and Nonsuch-Park, the fight was on either side maintained with extraordinary fierceness and valour, in which there were many gentlemen slain on both sides, amongst which was the Lord Francis Villiers, who that day expressed much courage, and as the report goes, was offered, but refused quarter.

The King's party being thus overcome, such as were not prisoners of war (of which were several of the better sort) the rest shifted for themselves the best they could. Nevertheless, the Earl of Holland, with a small party, got to Kingston upon Thames, which place, tho favouring the King's friends, and so near neighbouring Hampton-Court, durst not, in that condition, warrant the Earl's stay, the Parliament forces being in pursuit; so as leaving that place, he hastened towards Huntington, thinking to find security there, at least for some time; but by the way, Colonel Scroop interposing with two regiments of horse and foot from Norfolk, the Earl, after some resistance near St. Neots, 7 miles from Huntington, was taken prisoner, and thence, under a guard of Horse, sent to Warwick-Castle, where he remained till he was brought to London. The

Duke of Buckingham, in this interim, passed through the county of Lincoln, to the sea-coast, where happily finding a small vessel, he adventured the sea, and having a favourable gale of wind, in few hours arrived safely in Holland, where he found the Prince.

Whilst these things were in agitation, Duke Hamilton, upon the 13th of July (as hath been hinted) invaded England with his Scots, who were far short of the number the Committee of Danger voted at Edinburgh, as formerly mentioned; but was supplied by the splendour of his own equipage, his army (as some report) was not 15,000 horse and foot; yet, by that addition from Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and which Sir Philip Musgrave, and other English officers brought, he was 20,000 men, or thereabouts. The Scots army marched as far as Appleby, in Westmoreland, without opposition, where Major-General Lambert was quartered; near which, after a short dispute, the Scots made the English party to retire, first to Kirkby Steven, and then to Bowes, so as the Scots (to refresh themselves) stayed a few days in Kendal, expecting more force out of Scotland, which failed them.

Nevertheless, with the army he had, and animated with his late success, he marched into Lancashire, thinking there to be reinforced by many, that, during the late war, had appeared

opposite to the Parliament forces; but the report of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's approach disanimated several persons of note in those parts; so that Duke Hamilton failed much of his Expectations. The sequestration of mens estates was so great a terror to many; nor did Major-General Monroe, with his forces, follow the Duke, as was intended, he and the Marquess of Montrose having enough to do at home, by opposing the Marquis of Argyle, who, with General Leslie, were against Duke Hamilton's invading England.

Nor was the rumour of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's march towards the Scots false; for so soon as he had intelligence of the Duke's coming to Penrith, he quickly dispatched his leager at Pembroke, which was surrendered; and, as with a flying army, made all haste to join with Major-General Lambert and Colonel Harrison to fight the Scots. The Duke therefore thought it his best course to adventure a speedy engagement; in order whereto he marched to Preston, in Lancashire, and upon the 17th. day of August (having notice by his scouts that the Parliament forces observed his motion, and were drawing up towards him) he drew up in battalia, upon a moor about three miles from Preston, where both armies faced each other; Major Smithson commanded the forlorn, and worsted a part of the van of the Scots army, so as the armies

were immediately engaged: For two hours space the fight was equally maintained, and fought with marvellous fierceness and desperate courage, so as many were slain; but at length the Scots gave ground, and the greatest part of their army marched back towards Lancaster, the lesser part towards Preston. The Parliament forces marched close after the Scots, who, at Ribble Bridge (which is not far from Haughton-Tower) made a stand, as resolving to make good that passage, which accordingly they for some hours maintained with great courage, but being overpowered by the English cavalry, who pressed upon the Scots with great resolution, and gained the pass, the Duke (contrary to common sense) declined his retreat northwards, towards Lancaster, whither the other part of his army was gone, and marched southwards, to Wigan (a small distance from Lathom, the Earl of Derby's noble house) and the next day to Warrington, watered by the River Marsee, over which there is a bridge, and where the Scots disputed that pass with signal courage. But the Duke's army being much weakened through want of that part which went to Lancaster, and interposed by some regiments of the English army, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell being some time before come up to reinforce Major-General Lambert and Colonel Harrison with a numerous party, the finding his army much discouraged, and

much inferior in strength to his adversaries, as in despair, he left the foot to shift for themselves, who being thus deserted, about four thousand of them threw down their arms, having quarter; the Duke with three thousand horse, escaping to Nantwich in Cheshire; where, and by their disordered march, the greatest part were snapt by the country people and some soldiers that followed the chase. Duke Hamilton hasting into Staffordshire, at Utoxiter yielded himself prisoner to the Lord Grey of Grooby, who with a convoy, sent him to Ashby de la Zouch (of which the Earl of Huntington is lord) and shortly, with many others of the Scots, prisoners to London.

The Scots army being thus overcome, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, with his forces, advanced into Scotland without opposition, hearing that Munroe was with 8,000 horse and foot ready to follow Duke Hamilton's army; but having notice of his defeat, he thought good to hearken to the Earl of Argyle's advice, which was to forbear his march, insomuch as Lieutenant-General Cromwell entered Scotland with his forces unopposed, and at Edinburgh was amicably received, and treated with all demonstrations of affection; such are the strange effects and vicissitudes of war.

All this time Colchester held out, though straitly beseiged, being in want of powder and other

provisions, and having certain intelligence of Duke Hamilton's overthrow, as also hopeless of help from abroad, or a supply of what the town and garrison extremely wanted, and how unsuccessful the King's parties had been in several places, having called a council of war, it was resolved that commissioners should be named to treat with Sir Thomas Fairfax upon certain articles, which being agreed, Colchester was delivered up to the Parliament's general the 27th. day of August, 1648. Sir Thomas Fairfax forthwith removing to St. Albans, which for some time he made his headquarter.

CHAPTER V

SIR THOMAS HERBERT'S NARRATIVE, CONTINUED

THESE military proceedings happening during his Majesty's confinement at Carisbrook Castle, I thought pertinent to intermix with other occurrences, which otherwise should have been omitted.

Now in regard it hath been suggested by some, that the King was not ignorant of Duke Hamilton's preparations and intentions, by force of arms to set his Majesty at liberty, and settle him in his throne, and that the King, by a letter from the Queen, was acquainted therewith, which letter was intercepted, the seal violated, and the letter read by some great officers of the Army, members of the Commons House, who, during his Majesty's being with the Army after his remove from Holmby, had (upon valuable considerations of Wealth and Honour) undertaken, by their interest in both places to restore the King, upon condition that he would wholly confide in them, without having recourse to other means; which his Majesty consenting to, they carried on their design until they met with the Queen's letter, which startled them; so as closing it very artificially, and conveying

it into the King's hands, he could not perceive that the letter had been intercepted, or the seal broken, whereby the intelligence that the Queen gave might be known to any but himself. Upon their discourse soon after with the King, asking him, if he knew that Duke Hamilton was with a powerful army of Scots, preparing to do that by force which they had undertaken to effect by their interest with both Houses of Parliament and Army, in no wise doubting to compass it for his happy restoration. The King not acquainting them with the contents of her Majesty's letter concerning the Duke's invasion, they were thenceforth distrustful of him, which totally altered their former resolution, in order to his re-establishment and freedom.

This, as I said before, had been suggested; but assuredly little credit is given to this report, especially by unbiassed persons.

For, albeit, some great commanders in the Army, by the influence they had also in both Houses, might probably, upon a right prospect of peace, and expectation of preferment (a powerful magnet) confirm the King in his belief (credulity being rather a fault than an offence, seeing it hurts none but itself) they both could and would use their best endeavours to accommodate him by a speedy composure of all those differences that secluded him from exercising his royal power, the thing aimed at,

Van Dyck

Charles I. and Henrietta Maria with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York.

and by sober persons cordially desired; yet is not to be presumed, his Majesty would dissemble or falsify his word and promise to depend upon them, the business being so much to his satisfaction, and may be supposed, that his Majesty might at Hampton-Court (where it is pretended the letter was intercepted) having the opportunity to acquaint the Queen with the fair hopes and intentions of the Army to encline the two Houses to agree the differences, and remove the jealousies that occasioned this late war, and restore peace to a distracted kingdom, which it 's probable her Majesty would be glad to hear, and acquiesce in the King's prudence; so as it is unlikely the Queen would hazard his restoration any other way, especially by the Scots, who, if success should smile upon them in that attempt, would in all probability have insisted upon his Majesty's taking and confirming the League and Covenant, which the King was averse to. Nor had his Majesty confidence in Duke Hamilton, as appeared by that his presage; that if the Duke would in a hostile way enter this kingdom, he was a lost person; and if such a thing should happen, he charged all such as had been of his party during the war, to forbear joining with the Scots. Nor can it rationally be granted, that the Queen could, at the King's residence at Hampton-Court, have such quick intelligence of Duke Hamilton's design,

the time of this intercepted letter being near eleven months before the Committee of danger was formed, which was previous to the Duke's preparations, or anything in order to it. Moreover, granting there was such a letter, yet that it should be intercepted, seems strange, being presumed it would be sent by a trusty person; and the Court at that time being without any restraint, none forbidden access unto the King; also no less incredible, that her Majesty's seal being broken, could be so artificially closed, as the King (who was accurate in observing seals and curiosities of all sorts) should not discern the fraud. And as to the discontent those army-officers expressed by absenting themselves from court; this relater observed no such thing, but that, as at other times, they frequented it, so as until the King in disguise went thence, the military men did not withdraw,[1] not till the Commissioners departed, as did all the King's servants, who, as men amazed, stood for some time gazing one upon another; for being then without a master, the diet ceased, and with sad hearts they went thence to their several homes; so that upon the whole matter it may be believed, the report concerning the letter

[1] Major Huntington tells a different story in his narrative, but it must be remembered that Herbert was a faithful servant of the Parliament, on whose behalf he attended the King, and was not in Charles's confidence in his dealings with the Army.

of intelligence from the Queen, is fictitious, only designed to asperse the King, and to blemish his integrity, which (as he himself hath declared) he highly prized ; and indeed a saying of his is worthy to be writ in letters of gold *That he would more willingly lose his crowns than his credit, his kingdoms being less valuable to him than his honour and reputation.*

Faith, assuredly, is the foundation upon which justice and truth are built, saith Cicero the orator, and great statesman, who (albeit the Romans of all men got most by war) hath this assertion, that an unjust peace is preferable to a just war ; and it was a generous saying of King Henry IV. of France, our King's father-in-law, that it was a barbarous thing, yea, contrary to Christianity and Nature, to make war for the love of war ; a Christian King never refusing peace, if not wholly disadvantageous, For a King's honour and justice are, and ought to be, like a rock of diamonds, that remains impenetrable. It was an excellent and memorable expression of the King, such time as he signed the Petition of Right, he did it with a good heart ; For (saith he) *Prerogative is to defend the subjects liberty and freedom, seeing their freedom strengthens the King's prerogative.* Thus much I have thought fit to say, to wipe off that aspersion of double-dealing, and to vindicate injured innocence.

Return we now to the Isle of Wight.

I formerly hinted, that during the time that Dr. Sheldon (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) and Dr. Hammond, his Majesty's chaplains-in-ordinary, were permitted to wait at Carisbrook castle they performed the service afore the King; so as the King thenceforth was chaplain to himself, not thinking fit to accept any minister of the Presbytery, albeit he returned them thanks, and was civil to them.

Amongst others of that judgment (conforming to the Directory) was one Mr. Troughton, a young man, and I think, a graduate in one of our Universities, who (during his Majesty's confinement in Carisbrook-Castle) was Chaplain to the Governour, and preacher to the officers and soldiers in that garrison. He seldom failed to be in the Presence-Chamber when the King dined, delighting to see the King, and though he was but young, yet was he a student, and could argue pretty well in defence of some tenets he held in opposition to some ceremonies he had seen practised in Churches, and discipline in the Episcopacy. The King usually, after meals, would walk for near an hour, and take many turns in the Presence-Chamber, and pleasurably enter into disputation with Mr. Troughton, who was very earnest in maintaining his arguments, and the King never discouraged him, but being the better logician,

had the advantage ; and being better read in history and controversial points, gained ground of his opponent. The King always parted merrily, and was very pleasant ; but one time, during their discourse, this young disputant standing at one end of the room, between a Lieutenant of foot (who had his sword in his hand, and was earnestly hearkening to their debate) and a gentleman that was not known to many there ; the King in the heat of his discourse, took the officers sword out of his hand so unexpectedly, as made the officer look strangely, and then drawing it, affrighted the disputant, he not understanding the reason, until the gentleman (better understanding the meaning) fell presently upon his knee, and his Majesty laying the sword on his shoulder, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, telling him, it was to perform a promise to his relations. That young gentleman[1] is since advanced to greater honour and office under our sovereign.

From Carisbrook Castle his Majesty sent some proposals to the Parliament, who returned four preliminary Articles (which the Scotch Commissioners disrelished) and the King disliked, as improper to precede a treaty, which occasioned a stricter guard, and that vote of making no further address, which nevertheless was soon after repealed. And about

[1] Sir John Duncomb.

the middle of August, 1648, the Earl of Middlesex was sent by the House of Lords, and Sir John Hippersly and Mr. John Bulkeley from the House of Commons, to present the King with the votes of both Houses of Parliament, for a personal treaty with his Majesty, upon the propositions tendered at Hampton-Court, and a committee of Lords and Commons, at such time as his Majesty should think fit to appoint, and to be with honour and safety to his Royal person.

The King, in the first place, gave them his hand to kiss, and then told them, That their address being in order to peace, doubled their welcome, peace being the thing he earnestly desired ; assuring them withal, that if upon the treaty peace did not ensue, it should be no fault of his, he would not be blamed.

In order thereto, His Majesty was pleased to write back unto his Parliament, signifying the receipt of their late votes ; declaring withall, That he would treat with such of their members as they should think fit to nominate and appoint to meet at Newport in the Isle of Wight ; engaging withall, his royal word, that he would not depart out of the Island during the treaty (which was limited to six weeks time) nor in three weeks after.

Pursuant whereto, several lords and members of the House of Commons, namely, the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury and

Middlesex, Viscount Say and Seal, the Lord Winman, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Crew, Sir Henry Vane, jun., Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Sir John Potts, Sergeant Glynne, Sergeant Browne, Mr. Bulkeley, with some others, were acquainted by the two Houses of Parliament, to repair forthwith to Newport, and treat with his Majesty upon certain propositions.

His Majesty (as soon as he was advertised that the Commissioners were on their way) removed from Carisbrook (which was to him a place of cares) to a gentleman's house in Newport[1] which was accommodated to his business so well as that small place should afford, albeit disproportionate, and of small receipt for a Court. The King's old servants having then liberty to attend, several lords and gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, namely, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hartford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, Lord High-Chamberlain, with others of the nobility, likewise repaired thither, as also the grooms of the Bed-chamber, pages of the Back-Stairs, and other servants that had offices; all which were permitted their attendance.[2]

[1] The house of a certain Mr. Hopkins, afterwards knighted. It became the Free Grammar School of Newport. The Commissioners were lodged at the Bull Hotel and the meetings were held in the Town Hall.

[2] Here is the King's list:—

Gentlemen of my Bed-Chamber, Duke of Richmond, Marquess Hartford, the Earls of Lindsay and Southampton.

Several of the King's chaplains came thither also: (viz.) Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Juxon, Dr. Holdsworth, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Turner, as also Sir Thomas Gardiner, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Mr. Holborn, Mr. Palmer and Vaughan, etc. and with the Commissioners came Mr. Marshall, Mr. John Carill, Mr. Richard Vines, and Mr. Seaman. Mr. Nye was there also and some others, who (as occasion required) preached before the Commissioners; and albeit the King would not accept of them amongst his chaplains either praying or preaching, his Majesty was nevertheless affable to them, and said, They were welcome, always desiring (as he had published) those pious assistances, which holy and good ministers, either prelates or Presbyters,

Grooms of my Bed-Chamber, George Kirke, James Leviston, Will Murrey, John Ashburnham, Wil. Legg. Barber, Thomas Davis, Pages of my Back-Stairs, Hugh Hern, Humphrey Rogers, Wil. Levit. Yeoman of my Robes, Revet, Queries (with four or six footmen as they shall find fittest to wait) Mr. Ro. Ternhit, Mr. Jo. Hensden, Mrs. Laundress with her maid servants. A Groom of my Presence, Parsons: to wait as they did, or as I shall appoint them, these, Sir Foulk Greenvil, Captain Tytus, Captain Burroughs, Mr. Cresset, Mr. Hansted, Firebrace. Chaplains, the Bishop of London, Bishop of Salisbury. Doctors, Sanderson, Sheldon, Hammond, Oldsworth, Turner, Haywood. Lawyers, Sir Thos. Gardner, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir R. Holburn, Mr. Jeffrey Palmer, Mr. Tho. Cook, Mr. Jo. Vaughan. Clerks and Writers, Sir Edward Walker, Mr. Phil. Warwick, Mr. Nich. Oudart, Mr. Charles Whittane. To make ready the house for treating, Peter Newton.

could afford him, especially in those extremities, which God had pleased to permit some of his subjects to reduce him to.

Great rejoicing there was on all hands for this convention and fair hopes appeared that God would vouchsafe to give his blessing to it.

The Court being thus settled, and the most convenient house Newport could afford prepared (the town indeed is large, and of many streets, but the building none of the best, yet gave sufficient accommodation to that great concourse of men, as also to some foot companies that were quartered there), the King, so soon as the lords and gentlemen that came from the two Houses of Parliament had kissed his Majesty's hand, and reposed a little while after their land and sea travel, met them at the appointed place, where being set, the King under a State at the end of the room, And the Parliament-Commissioners at some distance on either side the board, several lords and the King's chaplains, viz. Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Houldsworth, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Turner, and the Bishop of London, as also Dr. Morley, standing behind the King's Chair; he forthwith entered to treat with them upon their proposals and a fair progress was made therein by his Majesty's ready condescention, especially what related to civil affairs; wherein the Commissioners, were pursuant to their instructions,

principally concerned. His Majesty had also some conferences with the Assembly Divines, Mr. Marshall and the other three lately named, in which was controverted some different judgments referring to the ingenuous and true sense the primitive fathers had of Bishop and Presbyter, how understood as to their administrations ; for as to the office of deacons, that was agreed by both, but in the other their opinions differed. However, in these debates there were no heats on either side, but managed with great sobriety and moderation. And in all this treaty his Majesty was observed in the whole transaction, both with the Commissioners and Divines, to keep a constant decorum, with great prudence, cautiousness, and good order. And albeit he was single, and obliged to answer what the Commissioners (who were many) had in proposition or objection, his Majesty's answers were pertinent, and delivered without any perturbation or show of discomposure, albeit he had to do with persons, as of high civility and observance to the King, so of great parts and understanding in the Law and affairs of State, and both for their ingenuity and fair carriage much commended by the King, as occasion afterwards offered.

The propositions sent from the two Houses of Parliament, to treat upon with the King, were eleven in number.

The first was, That the King should forthwith call in all such proclamations and declarations as his Majesty had at any time, during the late war, issued against the proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament; to which the King agreed, provided, that neither this concession, nor any other of his upon this treaty, should be of any force, unless the whole were agreed.

The second was concerning the settlement of the Church, as to his confirming the Assembly of Divines sitting in the Abbey of Westminster, and to a settlement of the Directory, and establishing of the Presbyterian Government for three years, reserving, nevertheless, to himself and his party a liberty to use the old form, his Majesty agreed. But as to the abolishing Episcopacy and that heirarchy, or to the alienating the Church-lands, or any part thereof, his Majesty would by no means give his assent.

To the third proposal, his Majesty was willing to permit the Parliament to have the militia in their hands for twenty years.

To the fourth, for nulling the cessation in Ireland, and leaving for some time the government both civil and military in the hands of his two Houses of Parliament, the King agreed.

To the fifth and sixth proposals, for vacating titles of honour conferred since his Majesty's great

seal was carried from London to Oxford; and for payment of public debts, the King gave his assent.

To the seventh, that Delinquents (that is) those of his party, should submit unto a fine, and be prohibited access unto the Court; as also, unto the Council without the Parliaments consent; and likewise, that for three years they should be disabled and debarred from sitting in either House of Parliament without their consent; and also to undergo a legal trial, if the two Houses of Parliament thought fit, and to suffer according to merit, if convicted by due course of law. Thus far his Majesty was willing to agree; but as to the charging them, or any of them, with treason; or as to the taking away their, or any of their lives or estates for acting things by his commission during the late war in a military way or any other (save such as after a legal proceeding should be found guilty of breaking the established laws of the Land) the King positively refused to give his assent.

To the eighth proposal his Majesty agreed, that the Parliament should have power to confer all offices in his kingdom, and likewise constitute magistrates for twenty years.

To the ninth, for his confirming their new Broad Seal, with all grants and commissions passed under the same, the King agreed.

To the tenth proposal, that all charters, grants,

privileges and immunities, with power to dispose of the Tower of London be ratified, the Militia there confirmed, and the citizens of London exempted from military duty and service out of their liberties, unless ordered by the two Houses of Parliament, the King agreed.

To the eleventh, that the Court of Wards should be abolished, his Majesty having yearly one hundred thousand pounds paid him in composition or compensation thereof paid him, his Majesty agreed. This is a breviate of them.

The Treaty having this fair aspect, it was the judgment as well as wishes, of all such as were lovers of peace, that King and Parliament would now unite ; and the rather, for that the lords, upon the report made unto them by their Commissioners in this negotiation, voted, That what the King had condescended to, seemed to them satisfactory ; and in the Commons House, after a long and sharp debate, it was carried by majority of voices, That his Majesty's answers and concessions were a ground sufficient and satisfactory for the Parliament to proceed upon, in order to a settlement of the Kingdom's peace. These resolves made most men, likewise verily believe there would be a happy union and agreement between his Majesty and the Parliament ; and that these long and sharp contests in civil war (if it may properly be so called, where

families are sadly divided, and estates unnaturally destroyed) would now be wound up in a peaceful conclusion.

But as his Majesty well observed, jealousies are not so easily allayed as raised. For albeit, his heart (he said) inclined sincerely to whatsoever might advance piety and peace amongst his people, yet the crying sins of this nation (as the sequel manifested) had so heightened God's indignation, as those good hopes and expectations were suddenly blasted. Peace, upon that score, being by some unquiet spirit is, then in power, judged unsafe and inconvenient; so as the object, be it never so beautiful, if it do but thwart their design, shall be looked upon as deformed. And his Majesty has this expression upon record God knows, and time will (certainly) discover, who are most to blame for the unsuccessfulness of that treaty, the product of many succeeding calamities.

His Majesty was vehemently persuaded by some to leave the island for his more safety, the time having an ill aspect towards him; but no arguments could prevail with him to violate his parole, as formerly hinted.[1]

[1] In this connection it may again be recalled that although Herbert remained with King Charles to the end, and served him as devotedly as he could in the circumstances, he was nevertheless the nominee of the Parliament, and there is good

Now in regard there are sundry relations published of the matters that ensued, as also of the force that was soon after put upon the House of Commons, by some officers of the Army,[1] and whence influenced, as also of their garrisoning White Hall with two Foot regiments, and upon what design, is needless to be repeated here, the scope of this relation being only to give the occurrence of such Court-Passages as this relater was an eye-witness to, and in reference to his observation of the sad and direful effects following.

While matters hung thus in suspence, the King nevertheless seemed confident, that for as much as his concessions were voted satisfactory to the majority of both Houses of Parliament, the conclusion would be answerable, as to a firm and lasting Peace. But, alas, in opposition thereto, Lieutenant-colonel Cobbit, an officer in Colonel Fortesque's regiment (Joyce like) came unexpectedly to Newport with a commanded party of Horse, and, in the first place, made enquiry for Colonel Hammond's quarters in the town ; having order to secure him, the reason unknown, unless from an apprehension the despotick

reason to suppose that he was not in the King's confidence with regard to plans for escape or means of communication with his friends, which he would have been in duty bound to reveal to the Governor.

[1] "Pride's Purge."

Agitators had, that he was too much a Courtier, which they approved not of.[1] Howbeit, being premonished, he evaded him, though very narrowly. But in this conjecture they were mistaken; for albeit, by his constant walking and discoursing with the King, whensoever his Majesty, for refreshment, walked about the works at Carisbrook, there being none so fit nor forward as he, being governour, which gave him the opportunity to ingratiate himself into his Majesty's favour, and made the army officers jealous of him, being solely entrusted with the person of the King. Nevertheless he forfeited the King's good opinion, by that uncomely act of looking into his scrutore to search for some supposed papers of intelligence from the Queen, and correspondency with others, wherein he missed his aim. Mr. Harrington and Mr. Herbert were then in the green waiting on the King, who finding the weather somewhat cold, the King bid Mr. Herbert go for his cloak; and entering the bed-chamber, found the Governour ready to come forth, with one other officer in company, and Mr. Reading who then

[1] Herbert is quite at sea here. The truth was that the Army, having determined to bring Charles to trial, found that Hammond was determined to hold him for the Parliament. His presence, therefore, was commanded at the Army headquarters, an order he dared not disobey, while the work of removing Charles from the custody of the Parliament to that of the Army was carried out.

Carisbrook Castle.

waited as page of the Back-Stairs, and by insinuation had let him in. Mr. Herbert as he was returning to the green with his Majesty's cloak, gave the page a sharp rebuke, which the Governour being acquainted with, threatened Mr. Herbert to give him a dismiss, for censuring that act of his; and, without doubt, had expelled him the Castle, if his Majesty, of his goodness, had not passed it by, without either reproaching the Governour or taking notice thereof. Those with some other aggravations, made the King design an escape. Horses being provided and laid near the Castle, and a vessel made ready for his transportation; but by a corrupted corporal in the garrison, took not effect; and a providence was therein, his person being hazarded, if he had made the attempt; and for which an officer had his trial afterwards by due course of Law, upon a charge of high treason, as the history of those times mentions.[1] But to return;

[1] There seems to have been a plot and a counter-plot. The Royalists intended to procure Charles's escape by letting him down by a rope from his window, leading him across the green and dropping him over the walls to where friends waited with horses to convey him to a boat which was in readiness. Certain soldiers had to be bribed in order to effect this plot, and one or more of them gave it away to Major Rolph, who was afterwards accused of having plotted to shoot the King as he descended. His chief accuser was Mr. Osborne, who was involved in the King's plot. The Royalists heard that

Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbit failing of his first design of apprehending Colonel Hammond, he made a higher flight in the next place, making an abrupt address unto the King, letting him know, that he had orders to remove him forthwith from Newport. The King beheld the Lieutenant-Colonel with astonishment, and interrogated him, whether his order was to remand him back to his prison at Carisbrook? The Lieutenant said, No. Whither then, said the King? Out of the Isle of Wight, replied the Colonel; but the place he was to remove the King unto he was not to communicate. I pray Sir, by your favour (said the King) let me see your orders. As to that, the Lieutenant-Colonel desired to be excused; This business (said he) is of no ordinary concernment, so as I may not satisfy any

their plot had been betrayed and gave up the attempt at the very moment it should have been begun. A sentry was shot by Rolph's or Hammond's men, however, either accidently in mistake for the King, or perhaps because he knew too much. At any rate, Rolph had to stand his trial for attempted murder of the King. The two plots are so intermixed that it is impossible to say now whether there was a Rolph plot or not. The upshot was significant, however. Rolph was acquitted and increased in rank, being actually in charge of the King's person at Newport when the Army again kidnapped him out of the hands of the Parliament. The King, writing to the Prince of Wales at this time, says in a postscript: "If Osborne (who has been in trouble for me about Major Rolph's business) come to you, use him well for my sake."

man's enquiry, until a fitter season. Now was verified his Majesty's maxim, that such as will assume the boldness to adventure upon a King, must not be thought over modest or timorous to carry on his design.

His Majesty being thus denied a sight, demanded, if his orders or instructions were from Parliament, or General of their army? His answer was, He had them from neither, neither from any else. It may be so, (said the King) seeing you are afraid to shew them. But that he had orders, or secret instructions for this bold act, is not to be doubted; for tho there was but one General, yet things were at that time so much out of frame, both in the Commons House and Army, as there were many commanders.[1]

The Duke of Richmond, the Lord High-Chamberlain, the Lord Marquis of Hartford, with others of the nobility, several venerable persons, and many of the King's household servants at that time attending, were in a manner confounded at this surprise and unexpected accident; yea, not a little affrighted with ideas and apprehensions of danger to his Majesty's person; and the more for that the Lieutenant-Colonel refused to satisfy any, to what place he would go, or what he intended to

[1] Cromwell and Ireton had now supreme power over the Army, and Fairfax had become a mere figurehead.

do with the King, other than that no harm or violence should be offered him.

The Lieutenant-Colonel pressed the King to take coach ; the coach accordingly was made ready, and brought to the door where the King lodged.

Never, at one time, 'tis thought, was beheld more grief in men's faces, or greater fears in their hearts, the King being at such a time, and in such a manner huried away, they knew not whither but no remedy appearing, the noblemen, the veteran persons, and other his Majesty's servants, approached to kiss the King's hands, and to pour forth their supplications to Almighty God to safeguard and comfort his Majesty in that his disconsolate condition.

His Majesty, who, at other times, was cheerful, at his parting from his friends shewed sorrow in his heart, by the sadness of his countenance ; a real sympathy.

CHAPTER VI

MR. HENRY FIREBRACE'S NARRATIVE

SIR,

Your pressing me to give an account of the part I acted, while I was permitted to attend the late King (that glorious martyr) in the times of his sufferings, I know not how to deny, nor how to perform, wanting abilities to express in such a manner (as I might) what was done, and what my eyes and ears were acquainted with; but since you please to command, I will obey, giving you the relation so far as I was concerned, and my capacity and memory will extend.[1]

I had the honour to be known to his Majesty by several services I had done him in the time of the Treaty of Uxbridge, at Oxford, and other places; and being at Newcastle when the Scots delivered his Majesty to the English, I did (by his directions,

[1] The copy of a letter to Sir George Lane, Knight, secretary to the Duke of Ormond, written by Mr. Henry Firebrace, clerk of the kitchen to his Majesty King Charles II., concerning a narrative of certain particulars relating to his Majesty King Charles the First, during the time that he attended on his Majesty at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, Anno 1648, which letter beareth date at White Hall, July, 1675.

to the end I might serve him with greater freedom and less suspicion of those who had him in custody) make my application to some of the Commissioners, that I be admitted to attend his Majesty, as one of the pages of the Bed-chamber, in which I prevailed.

They presently convey his Majesty to Holmby, where they kept him under a guard, but very few servants to attend him, especially of such as he could trust, which render'd my services the more useful to his Majesty.

In this interim, the two great factions of the time, Presbyterian and Independent, differ, the latter prevail, and remove his Majesty to Hampton-Court, upon pretence of restoring him to his throne ; but having gained their prey, the King soon after discovers their falsehood, and that they intended nothing less than what they pretended, looks upon his life in danger, to preserve which he put himself upon that journey, when he left Hampton-Court privately, in a dark and rainy night, about the middle of November, and was unfortunately brought to the Isle of Wight, whither I am confident (by what his Majesty several times after said to me) he did not intend to go, but what fate brought him thither I could never learn.

So soon as it was publickly known where his Majesty was, having received a private letter from him, to hasten to him, and with what intelligence I

could get, after I had acquainted his most faithful friends about London with my going as his Majesty had commanded me, I got leave of the Speaker of the House of Commons, and his pass, to go (for I had still kept myself out of their suspicion). My first endeavour after my arrival, was how to give his Majesty an account of business, and to put into his hands safely those letters I had for him (for there were continually spies upon him). To which purpose, I found out a very convenient and private place in his bed-chamber, where I left papers, of which I gave him an account that night, by putting a note into his hand, as he was preparing to go to bed; which paper he found.

And though next morning after his retirement at his private devotions, (of which he never failed), I found his paper in the same place; by which his Majesty was pleased to express his satisfaction in what I had done, and what he had received, and directed the continuance of that way and place for converse, which we made use of (for we had no better) for many weeks. I had settled a very good way of correspondence with his Majesty's friends at London, having two men very faithful and unsuspected constantly going and coming, by which means his Majesty never wanted good intelligence from the Queen, the Prince, and many of his friends, even in the time when those cursed votes of no more

address took place ; for I gave him several dispatches every week, and convey'd his safely away, not one at any time miscarrying, which was an infinite blessing of God on my endeavours.

At length I found favour in the eyes of those appointed by Colonel Hammond to be conservators ; whose office it was, by turn to wait at the King's two doors of his bed-chamber by day, when his Majesty was there, and to lodge there by night ; their beds being laid close to the doors ; so that they could not open untill the beds were removed.

He constantly went into his bed-chamber, so soon as he had supped, shutting the doors to him. I offered my service to one of those conservators to wait at the door opening into the back-stairs, whilst he went to supper, I pretending not to sup ; which he accepted of ; by which means I had freedom of speaking with his Majesty, none being on that side but myself, with which his Majesty was very well pleased, directing me to get that liberty so often as I could, which I procured very frequently.

Then, lest we might be surprised by anyone too suddenly rushing into the bed-chamber, and so discover the bed-chamber door open (for so it was, that we might hear each other the better) I made a slit or chink through the wall, behind the hanging, which served as well as the opening of the door, and was more safe ; for upon the least noise, by

letting fall the hanging, all was well. By this means we had opportunity to discourse often : and amongst other things of several ways for his Majesty's escape (for his imprisonment was then intolerable).

Amongst other ways I proposed his coming out of his bed-chamber window ; which he said he could do, there being room enough.

I told him, I feared it was too narrow. He said, he 'd tried with his head, and he was sure, where that would pass the body would follow ; yet still I doubted, and proposing a way to make it a little wider, by cutting the plate the casement shut to at the bottom, which then might easily have been put by.

He objected, that might make a discovery, and commanded me to prepare all things else, and that, he was confident, would not impede him.

I had made for this escape Mr. Worsly (now Sir Edward Worsly) a very worthy gentleman, now living in the Island. Mr. Richard Osburne,[1] a gentleman put in by the Parliament to attend the King, and Mr. John Newland of Newport, who all proved very faithful. And thus we were to proceed ; I should toss something against the window, which was the sign to put himself out, and to let himself down by a cord, which I for that purpose had given him.

[1] See page 127.

Being down and in the dark Night, I was to conduct him cross the Court (no centinel being in the way) to the great wall of the castle, where I was to have let him down by a long cord, a stick being fastened cross at the end, for him to sit on.

Beyond this wall was the counterscarp which was low ; beyond that and quite out of the castle waited Mr. Worsly and Mr. Osburne on horseback, with a good horse, saddle and pistols, boots etc, for the King. They were to help his Majesty from the counterscarp, which they could easily do from their horses.

At the seaside in a convenient place, was Mr. John Newland with a lusty boat, which might have carried his Majesty to what part he thought fit ; all things were thus prepared, and everyone well instructed in his part. The King, as he walked, had been often showed the place by me, where he was to be let down, and where he was to get over the counterscarp ; which his Majesty well approved of.

In the middle of these hopes I gave the sign at the appointed time. His Majesty put himself forward ; but then, too late, found himself mistaken, he sticking fast between his breast and his shoulders, and not able to get forward or backward ; but that, at the instant, before he endeavoured to come out he mistrusted, and ty'd a piece of his cord to

a bar of the window within, by means where of he forced himself back.

Whilst he stuck I heard him groan but could not come to help him, which (you may imagine) was no small affliction to me. So soon as he was in again, to let me see, as I had to my grief heard) the design was broken, he set a candle in the window. If this unfortunate inpediament had not happened, his Majesty had then most certainly made a good escape.

Now I was in pain how to give notice to those without; which I could find no better way to do, than by flinging stones from the high wall, where I should have set down the King, to the place where they staid; which proved effectual, so that they went off, and never any discovery was made of this.

After this I sent for files and aqua fortis from London,[1] to make the passage more easy, and to help in other designs I proposed, but before we

[1] They were procured, through the agency of Lilly the astrologer, by Mrs. Whorwood, a lady who showed great devotion to Charles, and helped in many secret missions and with his correspondence. Another woman who played a part in these affairs with great fidelity was "the woman who empties the stool." She carried letters backwards and forwards in her basket of linen. Another female conspirator, Lady Carlisle, lies under very grave suspicion of having been the person in the King's confidence who betrayed him to the "Committee at Derby House."

could effect them, a letter came from Derby-House to Hammond, to direct him to have a careful eye on those about the King, for that they discovered there were some that gave him intelligence.

This was a general suspicion, but they could point at nobody. Hammond set his engines to work, and did pump me; so I heard he did others; but at last he took me into examination, and when he could make no discovery he told me the reason.

I acquainted the King with all passages, at which he was much troubled; and told me, if they had a suspicion of me, they would never leave till they had ruined me; and would have me gone with his letters to the Prince his son (now our sovereign lord and master); but I told his Majesty, I was confident they could prove nothing against me, and therefore begged I might stay to see the issue; and that, if the worst happened, they could but put me away, and then I did not doubt but I should be able, some way or other, to serve his Majesty.

After this, Hammond sent for me again, and told me he had received other letters, and that he must dismiss me, as he should do others, but that I might stay, if I would three or four days.

This I looked upon as a trap; however I accepted of it, but carried myself cautiously. I acquainted the King, and settled such a way of correspondence

that his Majesty did not want constant intelligence from his friends as before ; and had his dispatches brought carefully to me, and sent them away with the like good success as formerly, during the whole time I was from him.

In my absence, another attempt was made for the King's his Majesty's escape, by those I had engaged, but it was unhappily discovered in the execution ; Mr. Worsely and Mr. Osburne (who waited as before) fled, by the help of that boat that was to have carried away his Majesty, and came to me to London, where I obscured and preserved them.

When the Treaty was voted, amongst those his Majesty named to attend him, I had the honour to be one ; of which he was pleased to give me notice by a letter, and commanded me to make haste to him. I no sooner arriv'd than his Majesty told me, I should attend him as I did before, which was page of the bed-chamber, and clerk of the kitchen ; for that there must be several diets at the treaty and he would have me undertake it in order to something better he intended for me.

I desired to be excused, as not at all understanding the employment. He was pleased to tell me he would instruct me, (which in earnest he did). Within two or three days I heard that a gentleman, one of his Majesty's clerks of the kitchen,

was come to Newport, in expectation to wait in his employment; and then I desired his Majesty that he might wait accordingly, I being unskillful. He was pleased to tell me again, I should undertake it, and that that gentleman should wait as Clerk Comptroller, as accordingly we did.

The Treaty being begun at Newport in the Isle of Wight, we did all hope for a happy conclusion thereof; his Majesty, having granted whatever they could ask, saving his conscience, and the damnation of his soul (which his Majesty once told me he thought they aimed at). But our hopes were all blasted, when the Army, thirsting for his blood, sent a party into the Island to secure him; which was so suddenly and privately done, that there was no notice or appearance of them, until that night they began their horrid tragedy, being the 29th, November 1648.

The King had commanded me to attend him that night at eight of the clock, for a packet he was preparing for me to send to the Queen; but before that hour I perceived some soldiers, with pistols in their hands, busily prying about the house where the King was lodged; this, together with the news of a party newly arrived, put me into great apprehension of the King's danger. And therefore, not staying till the time his Majesty appointed me, I knocked at the bed-chamber door, which his

Majesty had commanded me to do at any time, when I had business with him, and by such a knock which he knew and directed me to use : He presently opened me the door, and seeing me appear in a great astonishment, asked me, What is the matter ? I answered God Almighty preserve your Majesty, for I much fear some dismal attempt upon your person : and told him what I had seen and heard. He was pleased to lay his hand upon mine, and use these or the like words.

Firebrace, be not affrighted, things will be well ; you know Hammond is this day gone for London, and he hath appointed three deputies in his absence ; these will be trebly diligent, and it may be will set a treble guard upon me, but I am assured there will be no danger.

I replied, Ah, Sir, I much fear you are deceived ; for God's sake yet think of your safety ; there is yet a door of hope open ; the night is dark, and I can now safely bring you into the street, and thence conduct you to your old friend Mr. John Newland, who hath a good boat always ready and a good heart to serve you. Commit yourself to the mercy of the seas, where God will preserve you, and trust not yourself in the hands of these merciless villains who I fear this night will murder you. Which indeed I feared and therefore was transported in my passionate expressions ; which his Majesty

notwithstanding took very well, and used expressions of great kindness to me; which I begged he would forbear, and yet think of his safety.

He told me, he did not fear; and that if he did think there was any danger, he should be cautious of going, in regard of his word (which I supposed he had passed to Hammond not to stir). Then he bid me stay and he would seal up his letters, which he had just finished, and give me that dispatch to send away; which accordingly he did, and I, with a sorrowful heart left him.

I had not long been gone before he found the beginning of the sad effects of my fears; for those villains came down and set guard in all places within and without the house, even in his bed-chamber. In which posture they continued till break of day; a little before which time (for with difficulty I had gotten leave of those bloodhounds to come into the bed-chamber, as being a page thereof, as well as clerk of the kitchen) the King said to me, I know not where these people intend to carry me, and I would willingly eat before I go, therefore get me something to eat; which I caused the cooks immediately to do. And coming myself in half an hour, to tell him it was ready, I met these wretches leading him down the stairs to hurry him away, not suffering him to break his fast.

I kneeled down to kiss his hand, at which he

stopped to give me leave so to do ; when they thrust him, saying Go on, Sir, and so thrust him up into the coach, which was set close to the door.

And then one Rolfe, who had before attempted to murther him, impudently (with his hat on) stept up into the coach to him ; but his Majesty, with great courage, rose up and thrust him out, saying It is not come to that yet, Get you out ; and called up Mr. Herbert and Mr. Harrington, who at that time waited as Grooms of his Bed-Chamber.

Rolfe, thus disappointed, took his saddle horse, and got upon him, and so using insulting words, rode by the coach side, in which they carried him to Yarmouth in the Island, and from thence by water to Hurst-castle, and from thence to his martyrdom. The history whereof is left to posterity by several worthy hands, which makes me the more admire the reason of your commands to me in this particular ; unless it be to aggravate, if possible, the horrid actions of those sons of Belial, who reduced that great, wise and pious King, their lord and sovereign, to those extremities ; by depriving him, for many months together, of any manner of knowledge, that he had a friend remaining alive in the world, or that there was anything in being, except those vipers, about him ; but by the private intelligence he had at the hands of me, so inconsiderable as I am.

I could have added much to what I have said, but think I have sufficiently tired you. I shall conclude with this, that if I had ten thousand lives, and had spent them all (as I should willingly have done) to have preserved that great Prince, I had been more than sufficiently recompensed in that last act of kindness of his; when the very day before that horrid murther was committed upon his sacred person; he was pleased to remember my services; and to give particular charge to that worthy prelate, Dr. Juxon, then Bishop of London (for those reasons) to recommend me to the King his son, which that good bishop left in a testimonial under his hand, as a legacy to

Sir,

Your most affectionate and very humble servant,

HENRY FIREBRACE.

CHAPTER VII

COLONEL COOKE'S NARRATIVE

THE evening (between seven and eight) the King sent for the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Lindsay and Sir Edward Cooke [1] (they being all three together at the said Duke of Richmond's lodgings) with all speed to attend him, who accordingly hastened to the Court; the two Lords entering into the King's inner room, whilst the Colonel waited in the outer room till further order.

The King acquainted the Lords that one of his servants had been sent for by a person in a kind of disguise, who having informed him that the Army would that night seize upon the King, abruptly left him.

The Duke of Richmond acquainting the King, that Colonel Cooke attended without, was commanded to call him in, whom the King asked whether he had heard anything that the Army designed to seize upon him that night? Who

[1] This account is called "A Narrative made by Mr. Edward Cooke, of Higham in the County of Gloucester, who was Colonel of a regiment under Oliver Cromwell, then called Protector, containing certain passages relating to our late sovereign King Charles I. (of blessed memory) which happened at Newport in the Isle of Wight, upon the 29th of November, Anno 1648."

answered, that he did not hear anything tending towards it; adding, Surely, if he had he would himself have acquainted the King therewith.

The King having told the Colonel his reason for that question, commanded him to find out Major Rolfe, and enquire of him what he knew of it (who was then left as Deputy-Governour, by Colonel Hammond) with directions that he should always address to the King through the said Colonel, as himself had done during the Treaty.

Colonel Cooke having received the King's command, opportunely found Major Rolfe in his chamber, and acquainting him, that the King had sent him to enquire of him, whether the Army designed to seize him on that night? He answered, Not, as he knew of; adding, you may assure the King from me that he may rest quietly this night; for, on my life, he shall have no disturbance this night.

Colonel Cooke, observing that he placed such observance on those words, This night, tho' that was all that he was commanded by the King to ask, urged him further, Whether or not there was really any such design at all? Who, after a little space answered, It was impossible for him to know the present purposes of the Army at such a great distance, but that as yet, he had received no such orders.

Whereunto Colonel Cooke replyed, But if you shall hereafter, shall I be sure so timely to be acquainted therewith, as that the King may not be surprized with the execution of such orders? To which request he seemingly condescended, answering, That was but a respect due to the King.

Colonel Cooke thereupon returning to the King, gave him a punctual account of all these passages; who, in the meantime, having been informed that a considerable number of the Army were that night landed in the Island, remanded Colonel Cooke to Major Rolfe, to enquire the truth thereof; who thus answered him, that he knew fresh forces would ere long come over, to relieve those that then passed on duty there; but that as yet he was not certain of their being landed.

Which answer Colonel Cooke also returned to the King, giving him an account of all that had passed betwixt himself and Major Rolfe.

In the short time of whose absence the King having been informed that two thousand foot were drawn up about Carisbrook castle, and being much startled thereat, said, Then sure there must be some extraordinary design on foot; that such a body of men should not only be privately landed, but in such a bitter night as this, be exposed to such extremity of weather, the wind blowing very high and the rain falling very fast.

The King therefore expressing a great desire to be satisfied in the truth of this, and doubting that he might not be so clearly dealt with by Major Rolfe ; Colonel Cooke offered his service to go and see.

But the King reflecting on the severity of the weather, refused to expose him ; yet, considering how important it was to be rightly informed in this particular, the Colonel importun'd the King, (if he could so long dispence with him from his service) to give him leave to go, knowing no other expedient for the King's certain satisfaction, and pressed the Lords to intercede for him therein.

Whereupon, at length, obtaining leave from the King, his Majesty used these gracious expressions, That, being young and healthy he did hope that he would receive no prejudice by it, and that he might live to requite it, repeating his desire to know the truth.

The Colonel therefore took leave, and having got himself and his horse ready (tho' the night was extraordinary dark) fortunately groped out the way, and found out the castle, which having carefully rounded, and finding nobody without, went to the gate.

Where (having performed the usual ceremony of giving the word to the corporal) he sheltered himself from the excess of rain, that then fell, sending his

desire to the Governour (one Captain Boreman, a gentleman of the Island, who commanded a militia company there) to come to him, with whom he was well acquainted.

In the meantime, discoursing with the soldiers, to try what he could get out of them, but found them altogether ignorant, being a company of the islanders newly marched in ; the two army companies formerly garrisoned there, being drawn out into the town of Newport, probably to double their guards.

After a long stay the messenger returned to Colonel Cooke with this excuse, That the captain could not conveniently come out to him, but invited him in, who being entered the parlour, was surprized at the sight of above a dozen officers of the army, most of whose faces he knew, and after mutual salutation, addressed himself to the Governour, desiring to speak with him ; who first asked (and obtained) leave of those officers ; wherefore he questioned him in private, and asked him What he meant by that ? The Governour plainly told him, he was no better than their prisoner in his own garrison, for they threatened him with immediate death, if he but so much as whispered with any of his own servants.

The Colonel asking him, whether he could imagine the cause of all this, he answer'd that he supposed there were some great designs on foot, but he knew

not what they were, adding, that he understood that the captain which commanded the horse that were in the Island was in the same condition, and that his lieutenant commanded the troop; but that he knew no cause for either, unless they were suspected to have too much duty for the King; which gave the Colonel the opportunity of asking that particular question, Whether he knew anything of the King's being that night to be seized on? who answered, That it was not improbable but that might be the design, tho' he knew nothing of it.

Col. Cooke, therefore, having received as much light as the governour could give him, hastened to give the King an account thereof; but at his return found a great alteration at Court; Guards not only set round the King's lodgings, and at every window, but even within doors also, nay centinels on the King's very chamber door; so that the King was almost suffocated with the smoak of their matches. Which hastened the Colonel to Major Rolfe to complain of the rudeness of the soldiers; whom he found in his bed, it being then nearly twelve of the clock.

Having entered his chamber and made his apology, he complained thereof; whereunto Major Rolfe answered, that he was no way guilty of it, and that the two companies being late drawn out of the castle, could not that night have quarters

provided for them, and therefore he had ordered them to double the guards, not foreseeing that this would happen, but that next day he would redress all things himself, with all due respect to the King, and that he would consult the said colonel therein ; adding, that, in the meantime he was confident, on the colonel's complaint to the captain of the guard, he would draw off the men from being offensive to the King ; adding, that if the colonel found it needful, he might make use of his name to the captain of the guard. To whom the colonel making his application, in his return to the King, so prevailed with him, that those guards, which were so great an annoyance to the King his Majesty, were taken off to a more tolerable distance.

Upon Col. Cooke's return to the King, his Majesty made him repeat all the several distinct passages, which had happened that night.

These being compared together and duly considered, by the King the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Lindsay (for the Earl of Southampton, being indisposed, was returned before that time to his own lodgings, and the Marquis of Hartford gone to Netley) all unanimously concluded, that the Army did design suddenly to seize on the King's person ; which being taken for granted, the next question was, in this desperate case, what was most advisable.

The Lords both agreed for the King's immediate attempting an escape, as the readiest way to procure a personal treaty with the Parliament (which the King so much desired) when out of the reach of the Army, than when in their power.

And by this means the King would also secure his person, which otherwise might very probably be in danger.

But before they could proceed to debate the manner of this escape, the King prevented it, arguing against the escape itself. First he urged the great difficulty, if not impossibility of accomplishing it. Next, that in case he should miscarry in the attempt, it would exasperate the Army, and dishearten his friends. And lastly, if the Army should seize him, they must preserve him for their own sakes; he being convinced that no party could secure their own interests without joining his to it, his son being out of their reach.

Whereunto the Earl of Lindsay thus reply'd, Take heed, Sir, lest you fall into such hands; All will not steer by such rules of policy, remember Hampton-Court, where your Majesty's escape was your best security.

The Duke of Richmond added, That as yet he thought an escape feasible enough; and turning about to Col. Cooke, ask'd him how he passed to and fro? who answered, He had the word. Whereupon

the Duke asked him, Whether he believed he could pass him also ? he answered, He made no question but he could. At which the Duke took a Leaguer-Cloak without a star, and made the Colonel go along with him through all the guards, and so returned to the King again, to persuade the King's attempting an escape.

But on the sudden, his Majesty (turning himself from the two Lords who were discoursing with him at the window, to the Colonel who was drying himself at the fire) said, Ned Cooke, what do you advise in this case ? who humbly answered, That he suspected his own judgment too much, to offer any advice, considering both the greatness of the danger, and the person concern'd in it ; and that his Majesty having his privy-council with him, he humbly besought him to listen to them, considering what they pressed him to. Whereupon the lords resumed their former discourse, of attempting an escape.

But the King turning about again, said, Ned Cooke, I command you to give me your advice.

Whereupon the Colonel begg'd leave, that after he had premis'd some particulars, his Majesty would permit him to ask him a question. Which his Majesty granted.

Suppose (said he) I should not only tell your Majesty, that the Army design'd suddenly to seize

your Majesty; but by concurring circumstances should fully convince you, that it would be so; also that I have the word, and horses ready at hand (they being not far off, in a readiness under the pent-house), that I had also a vessel attending me by the Cowes, nay hourly expecting me; myself likewise both ready and desirous to attend your Majesty, and the darkness of the night, as it were, suited for the purpose; so that I can foresee no visible difficulty in the thing; which I suppose, in all its particulars, to be the true state of this present case. The only now remaining question is, If so, What will your Majesty resolve to do?

Who, after a small pause, delivered this positive answer, They have promised me, and I have promised them, and I will not break first.

The Duke of Richmond pressing the Colonel to speak, he craved leave to argue the point with the King. His Majesty reply'd, With all my heart,

I presume, Sir, (then said the colonel) Your Majesty intends by these words They and Them, the Parliament, to whom your Majesty made that promise you mention; if so, the scene is now quite changed, the present apprehension arising from the Army, who have already so far violated the votes and promises of the Parliament, as to invade your Majesty's freedom and safety, by changing the single centinel of state at the outward door, contrary

to their declared promise, into strong guards on your very bed-chamber; and, in all probability, a forerunner of something worse.

The King replied, however, he would not do anything that should look like a breaking of his word; and so bade him and the Earl of Lindsay a good night, and that he would go and take his rest too as long as he could.

Which, Sir, (reply'd Col. Cooke) I fear will not be long.

The King perceiving a great uneasiness and disturbance in Col. Cooke, said, Ned, what troubleth thee? Tell me.

Who answer'd Sir to consider the greatness of your Majesty's danger, and your unwillingness to obviate it. To which the King made this reply, Never let that trouble you, were it greater I would not break my word to prevent it.

Sir, said the Colonel, Will your Majesty be pleased but to respite your resolution and give me leave to step and call my lord Southampton? What needs that? replied the King.

Are not those my two friends (pointing towards the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Lindsay) I tell you they are my true friends.

Said the colonel, Be pleased then to consult them.

Said the King, I have resolved already; go you

both to bed (meaning the Earl of Lindsay and Colonel Cooke, for the Duke of Richmond was then in waiting) and if I have need of you I will send for you, whereupon both took leave.

But the Duke of Richmond stept after Col. Cooke to consult with him whether he had best go to bed that night or lie in his clothes.

Who answered, he himself, as wet as he was, would not pull off his ; for notwithstanding Major Rolfe's promises, he feared it would not be long before the King would be disturbed, else the face of things deceived him.

Whereupon the Duke asked him, whether he conceived it best for him to repeat his opinion to the King ? Who answered, With all his heart, and that he would stay in the outward room, in hopes that might occasion some new discourse ; the Duke, the Earl and the Colonel all concurring, that it was most adviseable for the King to attempt his escape with the Colonel.

But the Duke soon returned, and told both him and the Earl of Lindsay (who staid also) That the King was resolved to go to bed.

It was then about one a clock, and tho' Colonel Cooke went not to bed all that night ; yet all things were carried with such secrecy and quiet, that not the least noise was heard, nor the least cause of suspicion given.

But next morning just at break of day, the King, hearing a great knocking at his outward door, sent the Duke of Richmond to ask what it meant, who demanding who was there? It was answered, My name is Mildmay, One of those servants the Parliament had put to the King and brother to Sir Henry.

The Duke demanded, what would he have? Who answered, There were some gentlemen from the Army, very desirous to speak with the King.

Which account the Duke gave the King; but the knocking rather increasing, the King commanded the Duke to let them into the room. No sooner was this done, but before the King could get from his bed, those officers rushed into his bed-chamber, and abruptly told the King, that they had orders to remove him.

From whom? said the King. They reply'd From the Army. The King then asked, To what place? To the castle, said they. The King demanded, To what castle? Again they answered, To the castle.

The castle, said the King, is no castle. And added, He was well enough prepared for any castle; requiring them to name the castle.

After a short whisper together they said, Hurst-castle.

Indeed, said the King, you could not have named a worse.

Whereupon immediately the King called to the Duke of Richmond, to send for the Earl of Lindsay and Col. Cooke.

At first they scrupled at the Earl of Lindsay's coming; but the King saying, Why not both, since both lie together.

Then having whispered together, they promised to send for both, but sent for neither.

And tho' the Duke of Richmond had ordered the King's breakfast to be hastened, presuming there was little provision made in that desolate castle; nevertheless when his Majesty was scarce ready, the horses being come, they hurry'd him away, permitting only the Duke of Richmond to attend him for about two miles, and then telling him he must go no further.

Where he sadly took leave of his Majesty, scarce being permitted to kiss his Majesty's hand; whose last words to the Duke were, remember me to my Lord of Lindsay, and to Colonel Cooke; and command Colonel Cooke from me, never to forget the passages of this night.

Hereupon the Duke of Richmond returned directly to the Earl of Lindsay's lodgings (on which a guard had been set all night, to keep him from the knowledge of what was doing, at least to confine him from stirring forth, had he received any notice) and surprized both the Earl of Lindsay and Colonel

Cooke with the first notice of the King's being carried away ; with all its remarkable circumstances ; delivering the King's command to Colonel Cooke and his Majesty's gracious remembrances to them both.

After this, the Duke of Richmond, Earl of Lindsay, and Earl of Southampton with his countess, etc, immediately left the Island, and embarked in a vessel which attended on Col. Cooke, and landed near Tichfield (The Earl of Southampton's house) where, just at their landing, they were all seized on by a party of Colonel Okey's regiment : who, by the persuasion of Col. Cooke, and his engagement for their forthcoming, were all permitted to go to the Earl of Southampton's house ; where the next morning, whilst all passages were ripe in their memory, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Lindsay and Colonel Cooke met, and drew up this narrative, in obedience to the King's command.

CHAPTER VIII

SIR THOMAS HERBERT'S NARRATIVE, CONTINUED

THE King now ready to take coach, asked the Lieutenant-Colonel, whether he was to have any servants with him? Only such (said he) as are most useful. The King then nominated Mr. Harrington and Mr. Herbert to attend his Bed-Chamber, and scarce a dozen more for other service. The King taking notice that Mr. Herbert had for three days absented himself, Mr. Harrington told his Majesty he was sick of an ague. He then desired the Duke of Richmond to send one of his servants to see in what condition he then was, and if anything well, to come along with him. The gentleman the Duke sent found him sweating; but so soon as he received the message, arose, and came speedily to his Majesty, who soon took coach, and commanded Mr. Harrington, Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Mildmay, his carver, to come into his coach; and the Lieutenant-Colonel offering to enter the coach uninvited, his Majesty (by opposing his foot) made him sensible of his rudeness, so as with some shame he mounted his horse, and followed with a guard of Horse, the coachman driving as he directed.

The King in this passage showed no discomposure at all, but would be asking the gentlemen in the coach

with him, whither they thought he was travelling? They made some simple replies, such as served to make his Majesty smile at their innocent conjectures; otherwise could comfort himself with what he had granted at his late treaty with the Commissioners, whom he highly praised for their ingenuity and fair deportment at Newport, as formerly mentioned.

The coach (by the Lieutenant-Colonel's directions) went westward towards Worsley Tower in Freshwater-Isle, a little beyond Yarmouth Haven; thereabout his Majesty rested, until the vessel was ready to take him aboard, with those few his attendants. The King, after an hours stay, went aboard, a sorrowful spectacle, and great example of fortune's inconstancy. The wind and tide favouring, they crossed that narrow sea in three hours, and landed at Hurst-Castle (or Block-House rather) erected by order of King Henry VIII. upon a spot of Earth a good way into the sea, and joined to the firm land by a narrow neck of sand which is covered over with small loose stones and pebbles, and upon both sides the sea beats, so as at spring-tides and stormy weather the land-passage is formidable and hazardous. The castle had very thick stone walls, and the platforms are regular, and both have several culverines and sakers mounted, which if their shot doth not reach such ships as pass that narrow strait that is much frequented, they threaten them;

nevertheless a dismal receptacle or place for so great a monarch, the greatest part of whose life and reign had been prosperous and full of earthly glory ; but by his example we are taught, that greatest persons many times meet with adverse changes and are forced to bow under the strokes of misfortune, yea, in their highest exaltation are the usual marks at which the instruments of envy and malice are levelled ; So as we see plainly, there is no state of Man's life so happy as hath not some cross, evidencing the uncertainty of worldly enjoyments, and that real comforts are elsewhere to be expected.

The captain of this wretched place was not unsuitable ; for at the King's going ashore, he stood ready to receive him, with small observance ; his look was stern, his hair and large beard were black and bushy ; he held a partizan in his hand and (Switz-like) had a great basket-hilt sword by his side ; hardly could one see a man of a more grim aspect, and no less robust and rude was his behaviour. Some of his Majesty's servants were not a little fearful of him ; and that he was designed for mischief, especially when he vapoured, being elevated with his command, and puffed up by having so royal a prisoner ; so as probably he conceived, he was nothing inferior to the governour of the Castle at Milan ; but being complained of to his superior officer, appeared a bubble, for being

Hurst Castle.

pretty sharply admonished, he quickly became mild and calm, a posture ill-becoming such a rhodomont, and made it visible that this humour (or tumour rather) was acted to curry favour, wherein also he was mistaken; for to give the Lieutenant-Colonel his due, after his Majesty came under his custody, he was very civil to the King, both in his language and behaviour and courteous to those that attended upon all occasions; nor was his disposition rugged towards such as in loyalty and love came to see the King, and to pray for him as sundry out of Hampshire did, and the neighbouring counties.

His Majesty (as it may well be granted) was very slenderly accommodated at this place. The room he usually eat in, was neither large nor lightsome; at noon-day (in that winter-season) requiring candles; and at night he had his wax lamp set (as formerly) in a silver bason, which illuminated his bed-chamber. This sad condition makes me call to mind a relation you once imparted to me well worth the remembrance, That the late Earl of Lindsay (being one of the gentlemen of his Majesty's bed-chamber) one night lying on a pallate by the King's bed-side (not long before his leaving Oxford, and going thence to the Scots) at the foot thereof (as was usual every night) was placed a lamp, or round cake of wax in a silver bason set upon a stool; the Earl awaking in the night, observed the room to be perfectly dark,

and thereupon raising himself up, looked towards the lamp, and concluded that it might be extinguished by some water got into the bason by some creek; but not hearing the King stir, he forbore raising, or to call upon those that lay in the next chamber to bring in another light, fearing to disturb the King's rest; and about an hour after he fell asleep again, and awakened not till morning; but when he did awake, he discerned the lamp bright burning, which so astonished him, that taking the boldness to call the King (whom he heard by his stirring to be awake) he told him what he had observed; whereupon the King replied; That he himself awaking also in the night, took notice that all was dark; and to be full satisfied, he put by the curtain to look at the lamp; but some time after he found it light, and concluded the Earl was risen, and had set it upon the bason lighted again. The Earl assured his Majesty he did not. The King then said, He did consider it as a prognostick of God's future favour and mercy towards him or his; that although he was at that time so eclipsed, yet either he or they might shine out bright again. To return:

In this ecliptic condition was the King (the place and military persons duly considered) sequestered in a manner from the comfort earth and air affords; and in some sort from the society of men; the earth confining his Majesty to that

promontory or gravel-walk over-spread with loose stones a good depth, which rendered it very uneasy and offensive to his feet; but endured it with his accustomed patience and serenity of spirit, and with more alacrity than they that followed him.

The air was equally noxious, by reason of the marish grounds that were about, and the unwholsom vapours arising from the Sargasso's and weeds the salt water constantly at tides and storms casts upon the shoar, and by the fogs that those marine places are most subject to; so as the dwellers thereabouts find by experience, how that the air is insalubrious, and disposing to diseases, especially aguish distempers. Nevertheless, in this dolorous place the King was content to walk above two miles in length, but a few paces in breadth; the Governour one time, Captain Reynolds at another, discoursing, and Mr. Harrington or Mr. Herbert, by his Majesty's order, and their duty, ever attending him. That which made some amends, was a fair and uninterrupted prospect a good way into the sea, a view into the Isle of Wight one way, and main land the other, with the sight of ships of all sizes daily under sail, with which his Majesty was much delighted.

During his Majesty's confinement at Hurst-Castle, it so happened, that Mr. Harrington, being one morning in company with the Governour and some other officers of the army, he fell into some

discourse with them concerning the late treaty at Newport, wherein he magnified the King's wisdom in his arguments with the Commissioners upon the propositions and satisfaction the Parliament had in his concessions, and probability of a happy event, if this force in removing him had not intervened, and made an unhappy fracture, which created parties; enlarging upon his Majesty's learned disputes with Mr. Vines, and the other Presbyterian divines, with such moderation, as gained applause from all those that heard them argue; which discourse, how inoffensive soever, and without exception, at any other time and place, it appears that truth is not at all times seasonable nor safe to be spoken, as by Mr. Harrington's example was evidenced; for those captious persons with whom he held discourse, being full of jealousies, and apt to wrest his words to the worst sense, they withdrew a little, and at their return told him plainly, They were dissatisfied with what he had said. He prayed them to instance wherein. They replied, In all particulars; which, when he began to repeat for his own justification and their better understanding, they interrupted him, and told him in plain terms, They could not suffer his attendance any longer about the King. With which proceeding and dismiss, without acquainting him with the occasion, was ill resented by the King, who had Mr. Harrington in his

good esteem, being a gentleman qualified with special parts, and having found him trusty, his service was the more acceptable; but blamed him nevertheless for not being more wary amongst men, that at such a time were full of jealousies, and very little obliging to his Majesty.

There was now none left to wait upon the King in his bed-chamber but Mr. Herbert, and he *in motu trepidationis*, who, nevertheless, held out, by his careful observing his Majesty's instructions, without which (as the times then were) it had been impossible for him to have kept his station.

His Majesty being thus reduced to this deplorable condition, he could not choose but have some melancholy apprehensions, and accordingly about midnight there was an unusual noise, that awakened the King out of his sleep, and was in some marvel to hear the draw-bridge let down at that unseasonable hour, and some horse-men enter, who being alighted, the rest of that night was in deep silence. The King being desirous to know the matter, he, before break of day, rung his silver bell, which, with both his watches, were usually laid upon a stool near the wax lamp, that was set near them in a large silver bason; upon which call, Mr. Herbert opened the bed-chamber door, to know his Majesty's pleasure The King told him, He would rise; and as he was making ready, he asked him, if he heard the noise that was about midnight? Mr. Herbert answered,

he did, as also the falling of the drawbridge; but being shut up in the back-stair room, next the bed-chamber, and the door, by the Governours order being bolted without, he neither could nor would, without his Majesty's order, adventure out at such a time of night. The King then bad him go and learn what the matter was; and accordingly Mr. Herbert went, and knocking at the back-stair door, the soldiers unbolted it without, and he within and entering into the next room, he happily found Captain Reynolds there alone by the fire; and after some discourse he enquired of the captain, Who they were that came so very late into the castle, and their errand? The Captain in a joaking way, bad him be wary in carrying news to the King, he was amongst suspicious superintendants, and his comrade served for his example. Mr. Herbert thanked him for his friendly caution, and at length got out of him who the commander was that came so late into the castle, but would not discover what his business was.

Mr. Herbert speedily returning to his Majesty, told him, It was Major Harrison that came so late into the castle. Are you sure it was Major Harrison, said the King? May it please your Majesty (said Mr. Herbert) Captain Reynolds told me so. Then I believe it, said the King; but did you see Major Harrison? No, Sir, said Mr. Herbert. Would not Captain Reynolds tell you (saith the King) what

the Major's business is? Mr. Herbert replied, He did what he could to be informed, but all he could then learn from the Captain was, The occasion of Harrison's coming would be known speedily. The King said no more, but bad him attend in the next room and went to prayer. In less than an hour the King opened the bed-chamber door, and beckoned to Mr. Herbert to come in and make him ready. Mr. Herbert was in some consternation to see his Majesty so much discomposed, and wept; which the King observing, asked him the meaning of it? Mr. Herbert replied, Because I perceive your Majesty so much troubled and concerned at the news I brought. I am not afraid, (said the King) but do not you know that this is the man that intended to assassinate me, as by letter I was informed, during the late treaty. To my knowledge I never saw the major, though I have heard oft of him, nor ever did him injury. The Commissioners, indeed, hearing of it, represented it from Newport to the House of Lords; what satisfaction he gave them I cannot tell; this I can, that I trust in God, who is my helper, I would not be surprized; this is a place fit for such a purpose. Herbert, I trust to your care; go again, and make further enquiry into this business. Mr. Herbert immediately went out, and finding an opportunity to speak in private with Captain Reynolds (who being a gentleman well educated,

and at all essays expressed civility towards the King, with whom he most times walked on the stony ground, formerly mentioned, and was courteous to his servants) he told him, That the Major's business was to remove the King thence to Windsor-Castle within three days at farthest. Mr. Herbert, believing that the King would be well pleased with the exchange by leaving the worst to enjoy the best castle in England, returned to his Majesty with a mirthful countenance, little imagining (God Knows) the sad consequence.[1] And so soon as the King heard Windsor named, he seemed to rejoice at it.

[1] Charles having once more fallen into the hands of the Army, the comparative ease and freedom he had enjoyed at Newport came abruptly to an end. In the earliest days of his stay at Hurst Castle he seems to have still felt a certain amount of confidence that the concessions he had made at Newport would be looked upon favourably by the Parliament. But what was the fate of the Treaty? After days of discussion the House decided, by one hundred and twenty-nine votes to eighty-three, that the King's concessions at Newport were sufficient for a ground for settlement of a Peace. But the temper of the Army was otherwise. When members began to arrive the next morning at Westminster they found troops drawn up in Palace Yard. At the door of the House of Commons stood Colonel Pride and Lord Grey of Grooby. As each member approached he was scrutinised before he was allowed to enter, and if he had been prominent in favour of a settlement with the King, he was marched off to custody between soldiers. This procedure continued on the following days until over a hundred members were unable to take their seats, and there was no longer any opposition to the desires of the Army in the House, and at the next session the voting on the Treaty was annulled.

CHAPTER IX

SIR THOMAS HERBERT'S NARRATIVE, CONTINUED

MAJOR HARRISON[1] stayed two nights at Hurst; and when it was dark (having given orders for the King's removal) he returned from whence he came, without seeing the King, or speaking with any that attended his Majesty. Two days after, Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbit came and acquainted his Majesty with the orders he had received for his remove to Windsor-Castle forthwith. The King told him he was more kind now than he was at Newport, when he would not gratify him with the knowledge of the place he was to go to. Windsor was a place he ever delighted in, and would make amends for what at Hurst he had suffered.

[1] Thomas Harrison (1606–1660) was born in Staffordshire of lowly parentage. He joined the Army in 1642, and was present at the battles of Marston Moor, Naseby, etc. In 1646 he entered Parliament, being a member of the extreme military party and taking part in "Pride's Purge." He was a member of the Committee who met secretly to draw up the form of the King's Trial, and at one of these meetings used the words: "Gentlemen, it will be good for us to blacken him what we can; pray let us blacken him." Words which were brought in evidence against him at his own trial as a regicide. He was executed.

All things being, in short time, made ready, he bad solitary Hurst adieu; and having passed the narrow passage (which reaches well nigh from Hurst to Milford, three long miles) there appeared a party of Horse belonging to the Army, and had then their winter-quarter at Lind-Hurst, and were ordered to convoy the King to Winchester; but going first to Ringwood, then through the new Forest to Rumsey (where is a fair Church, being the remains of a dissolved Nunnery, founded by great King Edgar, about the year of Our Lord 970) went from thence to the city of Winchester, which was heretofore the royal seat of the West-Saxon Kings, the bones of many of them being shrined in little gilded coffers, by Bishop Fox, and placed upon the top of some walls within the choir of the cathedral, first built by Kinelwalch, a West-Saxon king, upon the subversion of a monastery of monks, which, during the Roman Empire flourished; but that decaying, it was with greater magnificence re-edified by succeeding bishops, since the Conquest, and all the West part by Bishop Wickham, from the choir. And amongst other famous prelates here born, were S. Swithin, Bishop of this See, Anno Dom. 840. and William (the son of Herbert, who was Lord-Chamberlain to King Henry I.) made Archbishop of York by King Stephen, Anno Dom. 1145. and canonized in the year of Our Lord 1226. by Honorious, the Pope.

At the King's entrance into Winchester, the Mayor and Aldermen of the city (notwithstanding the times) received the King with dutiful respect, and the clergy did the like; yea, during his short stay there, the gentry, and others of inferior rank, flocked thither in great numbers to welcome his Majesty; some out of curiosity to see, others out of zeal to pray for his enlargement and happiness; with which the King was much satisfied, and was pleased to many of them to give his hand to kiss. Thence his Majesty rode to Alton, and then to Alesford; the inhabitants round about making haste to see his Majesty pass by, and with joyful acclamations accompanying him likewise with prayers for his preservation, a sure evidence of affection. From Alesford the King passed to Farnham, betwixt which two towns (being about seven miles asunder) another troop of horse was in good order drawn up, by which his Majesty passed; it was to bring up the rear. In the head of it was the captain gallantly mounted and armed; a velvet monteir was on his head, a new buff-coat upon his back, and a crimson silk scarf about his waste richly fringed; who, as the King passed by with an easy pace (as delighted to see men well horsed and armed) the Captain gave the King a bow with his head all *a-Solade*, which his Majesty requited. This was the first time the King saw that captain.

Mr. Herbert riding a little behind the King (who made no use of his coach since he came from Hurst-Castle) he called him to come near, and asked him who the captain was; and being told it was Major Harrison, the King viewed him more narrowly, and fixed his eyes so steadily upon him, as made the Major abashed, and fall back to his troop sooner than probably he intended. The King said he looked like a soldier, and that his aspect was good, and found him not such a one as was represented; and that having some judgment in faces, if he had observed him so well before, he should not have harboured that ill opinion of him; for oftimes the spirit and disposition may be discerned by the countenance; yet in that one may be deceived.

That night the King got to Farnham, where he was lodged in a private gentleman's house in the town. The Castle is upon the ascent, and belongs to the Bishop of Winchester; but being then a garrison, was no fit place for the King's accommodation; nor was the Bishop there, or at that time in a condition to pay his observance (as in duty he otherwise would) unto his Majesty.

A little before supper, his Majesty standing before the fire in a large parlour wainscotted, and in discourse with the mistress of the house, the King (albeit the room was pretty full of army-officers, and country people that crowded in to have a sight

of the King) nevertheless discovered Major Harrison at the far end of the room talking with another officer ; the King beckoned to him with his hand to come nearer him ; which he did with due reverence. The King then taking him by the arm, drew him aside towards the window, where, for half an hour, or more, they discoursed together ; and amongst other things the King minded him of the information concerning him, which, if true, rendered him an enemy in the worst sense to his person ; to which the Major in his vindication assured his Majesty, that what was so reported of him was not true ; what he had said he might repeat, That the Law was equally obliging to great and small, and that Justice had no respect to persons ; or words to that purpose ; which his Majesty finding affectedly spoken, and to no good end, he left off communication with him, and went to supper, being all the time very pleasant, which was no small rejoycing to many there, to see him so cheerful in that company, and such a condition.

Next day the King rode from Farnham to Bagshott, where, at Lord Newburgh's house, he dined ;[1] and so through part of the forest to

[1] Here an attempt was to be made to mount the King upon a race-horse of Lord Newburgh's, so that he might make a bolt for freedom and out-distance his pursuers. He was so closely guarded, however, that the plan could not be carried out, and the horse was found to have been lamed.

Windsor Castle; his usual bed-chamber in the palace, towards the far end of the castle ward being prepared for him.

Colonel Whitchcott was at that time Governour of the Castle, which was then garrisoned with some Foot companies. Here the King seemed to take more delight than at any place he had been since his leaving Hampton-Court. Here he had the liberty to walk where and when he pleased, within the castle, and in the long terrace without, that looks towards the fair college of Eaton. This terrace is of great length, upon the North side of that most magnificent structure. It was begun by Queen Elizabeth, and enlarged by succeeding princes. And albeit you have a larger prospect from the Keep; yet, from the Terrace you have also a delightful view of the River of Thames, of many pleasant hills and valleys, villages and fair houses far and near; so as no place in this kingdom may compare with it, save the little castle or Lodge in Greenwich-Park, which has the sight of the great and noble city of London, River of Thames, and ships of great burthen daily under sail passing to and fro; with other things enumerated by Barclay in his *Argenis*. The greatest part of the forenoon the King spent in prayer and other exercises of piety; part of the afternoon he set apart for health, by recreating himself in walking, and usually in

the Long Terrace. The Governour here, as in other places, (after the Commissioners were gone) being for the most part in his company, for want of others to discourse with. None of the nobility nor few of the gentry, were suffered to come into the Castle to see the King, save upon the Sundays to sermon in St. George's Chapel, where the chaplain to the Governour and garrison preached. Colonel Whitchcott behaved himself nevertheless very civilly towards the King, and his observance was taken notice of by his Majesty; as also the soldiers there, who, in their places, gave no offence either in language or behaviour to the King, or any that served him.

Whilst his Majesty stayed at Windsor, little passed worth the taking notice of; notwithstanding, something may be remembered; One night, as the King was preparing to go to bed, as his custom was, he wound up both his watches, one being gold, the other silver, he missed his diamond seal, a table that had the King's arms cut with great curiosity, and fixed to the watch; Matter and work were both of considerable value; The seal was set in a collet of gold, fastened to a gold chain. His Majesty could not imagine either when or where it dropt out; but thought he had it the day before, when he looked upon his watch, as he walked in the long terrace, which being the most probable place to find it in, he bade Mr. Herbert look there the next

morning; which, so soon as the King was ready, and had given him his George and Garter (which his Majesty never failed to wear) the King went to his devotion and his servant to search for the diamond, and for near an hours space walked upon the terrace, casting his eye everywhere, but could not find it. Some officers of the garrison were then upon the terrace, who observed how intent he was; so as they imagined he had lost something, and were inquisitive to know what it was; but he, apprehending the danger in telling them, and hazard it would run if they should find it, let them know nothing concerning it. He in like manner sought in the Presence, Privy-Chamber, Galleries, St. George's Hall, and every room the King had been in; but all to no purpose. So as with an anxious look he returned with this account, that he had diligently searched every where in likely places, and could not find it, and to acquaint any other he durst not (in regard his Majesty's arms were engraven in it) unless his Majesty had so directed. The King perceiving Mr. Herbert troubled at this accident, bid him not vex himself about it.

Next night, a little before his Majesty went to bed, a good charcoal fire being in the Chamber, and wax-lights burning, the King cast his eye to one end of the room and saw something sparkle, and pointing with his finger, bade Mr. Herbert take

a candle and see what it was; by good providence it was the diamond, which he took up and found his Majesty's arms in it, and with joy brought it to the King. Another night his Majesty appointed Mr. Herbert to come into his bed-chamber an hour sooner than usual in the morning; but it so happened, that he over-slept his time, and awakened not until the King's silver bell hastened him in. Herbert, (said the King) you have not observed the command I gave last night. He acknowledged his fault. Well (said the King) I will order you for the future; you shall have a gold alarm-clock, which, as there may be cause, shall wake you; write to the Earl of Pembroke to send me such a one presently. The Earl immediately sent to Mr. East, his watchmaker in Fleet-Street, about it; of which more will be said at his Majesty's coming to St. James's.

Another accident happened about this time, which might have proved of ill consequence, if God in mercy had not prevented it. Mr. Herbert lodged in a little back room near the bed-chamber, towards Eaton College; it had a back stair, but was at this time rammed up with earth, to prevent any passage that way. In this room he had a pallat, which (for the weather was very sharp) he laid somewhat too near the chimney, and there were two baskets filled with charcoal, for the use of his Majesty's bed-

chamber; and being asleep in bed, a basket took fire, either from some spark of the charcoal on the hearth, or some other way he knew not of; but the room was soon hot, and the fire got to the pallat-bed, which quickly roused Mr. Herbert out of sleep, who, in amazement ran to the King's chamber door, and in a frightful manner, with that noise, awakened the King. Those in the ante-chamber without, being soldiers, hearing the King's chamber was on fire, desired entrance (for the door was bolted within, as the King ordered) pretending that they might help to quench it; but through the goodness of God, without other assistance, those within suppressed it, by stifling it with clothes, and confining it to the chimney which was spacious. Mr. Herbert humbly begged his Majesty's pardon for the disturbance he gave, not knowing how to help it. The King said He did but do his duty.

Soon after this, the Governour acquainted his Majesty he understood how that within few days he was to be removed thence to White Hall. To this his Majesty made little reply, seeming nothing so delighted with this remove, as he was with the former; but turning him about, said, God is every where alike in wisdom, power and goodness.

Some information he had, how preposterously things went in both Houses of Parliament, wherein he was concerned; and how that the army-officers

had then published a Remonstrance, designing thereby an alteration of the government, and trial of his person by some way that was extraordinary and unpresidented; so that immediately he retired into his bed-chamber, and was a good while private in his addresses to God, ever having recourse to him by prayer and meditation, in whatever condition soever he was, as being the surest way to find comfort.

The day prefixed being come, he took coach near the Keep (a high mount, on which is a tower built in the middle-ward betwixt the two great courts within the castle) a guard being made all along of muskets and pikes; both officers and soldiers expressing civility as he passed by; and at the great gate a party of horse, commanded by Major Harrison, were drawn up in the market-place and Pease-cod-street End, who followed the coach, which passed through Brainford, Hammersmith, and the direct way to his Majesty's House at St. James's, where his chamber was furnished by Mr. Kinnersly, his servant, strict guards placed, and none suffered to attend in his Majesty's bed-chamber, save Mr. Herbert. Nevertheless his usual diet was kept up, and the gentlemen that formerly waited were permitted to perform their respective services in the Presence, where a State was placed, and for a few days all things with decency and honour observed. Sir Fulke Grevile being cup-bearer, gave

it upon his knee; Mr. Mildmay was carver; Captain Preston sometimes sewer and kept the robes; Mr. Ansty Gentle-Man Usher; Capt. Burroughs, Mr. Firebrass, Mr. Muschamp had their places; Captain Joyner was cook; Mr. Babington barber; Mr. Reading page of the back-stairs; and some others also waited. The King's dishes were brought up covered the say was given, and all things performed with satisfaction in that point. But to return a little. It is well worth observation, that so soon as the King came to his bed-chamber, before he either eat or drank, or discoursed with any, he went to Prayer and reading in his Bible.

Whilst he was in this sorrowful condition, none of the nobility, no chaplains, no councellours, nor any of his old attendants having the liberty to repair unto him, about the latter end of December his Majesty had private notice, how that the House of Commons, in a resolve, had declared, That by the Laws of England it was treason in the King to levy war against the Parliament and Kingdom; which resolve they sent up unto the Lords for their concurrence. The Lords, so soon as they had heard it read, rejected it; and after some debate, passed two votes, First, That they could not concur with the House of Commons in their declaratory resolve; and secondly, As to that vote of the Commons, or order for trial of the King, they could by no means

Charles I. in captivity.

consent unto it. Whereupon the House of Commons passed another vote, viz. That the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, have the supreme power. And pursuant thereto, passed an act for the Trial of the King.

His Majesty also had information from private hands of the late proceedings in the House of Commons, both as to a violent secluding and seizure of several members by force, being some of those that upon the 6th of December 1648. voted, That his Majesty's concessions were satisfactory for a settlement of the peace, acted by Colonel Pride, and some other eminent army-officers, under a notion of purging the House; as also of their votes passed concerning him; by which his Majesty was apprehensive of their ill intentions towards his person and government, and did believe his enemies aimed at his deposing and confinement in the Tower, or some such like place; and that they would seat his son the Prince of Wales in his throne, if he would accept of it. But as to their taking away his life by trial in any court of Justice, or (*subdiu*) in the face of his people, that he could not believe, there being no such president or mention in any of our histories. 'Tis true, his grandmother, the Queen of Scots, suffered under Queen Elizabeth; but in England she was no sovereign, but a subject to law. Indeed, that some Kings of England have been

lamentably murthered by ruffians in a clandestine way, our chronicles inform us; but the facts were neither owned nor approved of by any King. Such were his Majesty's imaginations, until he came to his trial in Westminster Hall; for then he altered his opinion. Nevertheless, his faith overcoming his fear, he continued his accustomed prudence and patience, so as no outward perturbation could be discerned, with Christian fortitude submitting to the good pleasure of the Almighty, sometimes, sighing, but never breaking out into a passion, or uttering a reproachful or revengeful word against any that were his adversaries; saying only, God forgive their impiety.

For about a fortnight after his Majesty's coming to St. James's, he constantly dined publickly in the Presence-Chamber, and at meals was served after the usual state, the Carver, Sewer, Cup-bearer, and Gentleman-Usher attending and doing their offices respectively; his Cup was given upon the knee, as were his covered dishes; the say[1] was given, and other accustomed ceremonies of State observed, notwithstanding this his dolourous condition; and the King was well pleased with the observance afforded him. But then the case altered; for the

[1] The assay, or public tasting of food or drink to be partaken of by the King.

officers of the army (being predominant) gave order at a court of war, that thenceforth all state ceremony, or accustomed respect to his Majesty at meals should be forborn, and his menial-servants (though few in number) be lessened. And accordingly the King's meat was brought up by soldiers, the dishes uncovered, no say, no cup upon the knee, nor other accustomed Court-State was then observed; which was an uncouth sight unto the King, saying that the respect and honour denied him, no sovereign prince ever wanted; nor yet subjects of high degree, according to ancient practice further expressing, is there anything more contemptible, than a despised prince? But seeing it was come to such a pass, the best expedient he had to reconcile it, was to contract his diet to a few dishes out of the bill of fare, and to eat in private. And his eating being usually agreeable to his exercise, this abstemiousness was in nowise displeasing, his temperance preserving his health, as in these two last years of his life and reign he kept in perfect health, without any indisposition, or recourse to physick; so as in probability, had not his thread of life been prematurely cut, he might have surpassed the age of any of his royal ancestors.

CHAPTER X

SIR THOMAS HERBERT'S NARRATIVE, CONTINUED

Up on Friday the 19th of January 1648,[1] his Majesty was removed from St. James's to White-Hall, and lodged in his usual Bed-chamber; after which a guard of musqueteers were placed, and sentinels at the door of his chamber; thenceforth Mr. Herbert (who constantly lay in the next room to the King, according to the duty of his place) by his Majesty's order, brought his pallat into his Majesty's bed-chamber, to be nearer his royal person, where every night he rested.

The next day the King was in a sedan or closed chair, removed from White-Hall to Sir Robert Cotton's house, near the west end of Westminster-Hall; guards were made on both sides King Street, all along the Palace-Yard and Westminster-Hall, as his Majesty was from the garden-door at White-Hall carried to Cotton-House none but Mr. Herbert going bare by the King; no other of his Majesty's servants going along King-Street or Westminster-Hall, the soldiers hindering them. At Cotton-House

[1] The date should be 19th January, 1649. There are other wrong dates in the narrative, due to alteration in the Calendar or to a slip on the narrator's part. Where these wrong dates occur they have been corrected by a footnote.

there was a guard of Partizans, Colonel Hacker sometimes, and Colonel Hunks other sometimes commanding them. His Majesty being summoned by Colonel Hacker to go to the Court that was then in Westminster-Hall, where Sergeant Bradshaw was President, and seated in a chair; also about threescore and twelve other persons, Members of the House of Commons, officers of the Army, and citizens of London, sate upon benches some degrees over one another, as judges; Hacker, by order of the Court (which was erected in the same place where the judges of the King's Bench every term used to hear causes) brought his Majesty to a velvet chair, opposite to the president; Mr. Cook, the solicitor, being placed on the King's right hand. I shall pretermit the Judges names, the formalities of the Court, and the proceedings there, by way of charge, as also his Majesty's replies, in regard all those particulars have been published at large by sundry writers, nor indeed was much to be observed, seeing his Majesty, having heard their allegations, would sometimes smile; and not having his learned councel to advise with, nor other help, he would not acknowledge their jurisdiction, or that by any known law they had any authority to proceed in that manner against their King. it being without example also. Whereupon the Court made no further proceedings that day.

His Majesty being returned to Cotton-House, where by Sir Thomas Cotton, the master of the house, and Mr. Kinnersly of the Wardrobe, the King's chamber had the best accommodation could so suddenly be made. The soldiers that were upon the guard were in the next chamber to the King's. His Majesty commanded Mr. Herbert to bring a pallat, and being laid on the matted floor, at one side of the King's bed, there slept.

Sunday the 21st. of January, Dr. Juxon, that good Bishop of London had (as his Majesty desired) the liberty to attend the King, which was much to his comfort, and (as he said) no small refreshing to his spirit, especially in that his uncomfortable condition. The most part of the day was spent in prayer and preaching to the King.

Monday the 22nd. of January, Col. Hacker brought his Majesty the second time before the court, then sitting, as formerly, in Westminster-Hall. Now the more noble the person is, the more heavy is the spectacle, and inclines generous hearts to a sympathy in his sufferings; here it was otherwise; for so soon as his Majesty came into Westminster-Hall, some soldiers made a hideous cry for Justice, Justice; some of the officers joining with them. At which uncouth noise the King seemed somewhat abashed, but overcame it with patience. Sure, to persecute a distressed soul, and to vex

him that is already wounded at the heart, is the very pitch of wickedness ; yea, the utmost extremity malice can do, or affliction suffer, saith Dr. Andrews, the learned Bishop of Winchester, in one of his sermons upon the passion, preached before Queen Elizabeth upon Good-Friday, and here applicable.

As his Majesty returned from the Hall to Cotton-House, a soldier that was upon the guard, said aloud, as the King Passed by, God bless you, Sir, The King thanked him ; but an uncivil officer struck him with his cane upon the head ; which his Majesty, observing, said, The punishment exceeded the offence. Being come to his apartment in Cotton-House, he immediately, upon his knees, went to prayer. Afterwards he asked Mr. Herbert if he had heard that cry of the soldiers for justice ? Who answered, he did, and marvelled thereat, So did not I (said the King) for I am well assured the soldiers bear no malice to me ; the cry was, no doubt, given by their officers, for whom the soldiers would do the like, were there occasion.

His Majesty likewise demanded of him, how many there were that sate in the court, and who they were ? He replied, they were upwards of threescore, some of them members of the House of Commons, others were commanders in the army, and others some citizens of London, some of whom he knew, but not all. The King then said, he viewed

all of them, but knew not the faces of above eight, and those he named.

Tuesday the 23rd. of January, the King was the third time summoned, and, as formerly, guarded to the court; where (as at other times) he persisted in his judgment, that they had no legal jurisdiction or authority to proceed after that manner against him. Upon which, the solicitor began to offer something to the president of the court, but was interrupted by the King gently laying his staff upon the solicitor's arm, the head of which being silver, happened to fall off. which Mr. Herbert (who as his Majesty appointed, waited near his chair) stooped to take up; but falling on the contrary side, to which he could not reach, the King took it up himself. This by some was looked upon as a bad omen.

The court sate but a little while that day; the King not varying his principle. At his going back to Cotton-House, there were many men and women, who (not without some hazard) crowded into the passage behind the soldiers, that as his Majesty passed said aloud, God Almighty preserve your Majesty. The King returned them thanks for their prayers.

The 27th day of January, the President came to the Hall in his scarlet gown. The King had quickly notice the Court was set and being called, he forthwith went; and observing him in his red gown,

by that sign he imagined it would be the last day of their sitting, and therefore earnestly pressed the court, That although he could not acknowledge their jurisdiction, for those reasons he had given, nevertheless desired that he might have a conference in the Painted-chamber, with a committee of Lords and Commons, before the Court proceeded any farther. Whereupon the President arose and the Court withdrew ; in which interval the King likewise retired to Cotton-House, where he and Dr. Juxon were private for about an hour, and then Colonel Hunks gave notice that the Court was set.

The King being seated in the chair, the president told his Majesty, That his motion for a conference with a committee of Lords and Commons had been taken into consideration, but would not be granted by the Court, in regard he would not own their jurisdiction, nor acknowledge them for a lawful Assembly. Whereupon the King with vehemence insisted, that his reasonable request might be granted ; that what he had to offer to a committee of either house might be considered before they proceeded to sentence.[1]

His Majesty had the former day moved the President, that the grounds and reasons he had put in writing for his disowning their authority might

[1] What the King would have offered is not known, but possibly he may have intended to abdicate in favour of Prince Charles.

be publicly read by their clerk; but neither would that desire of his be granted.

The President then gave judgment against the King, who at the Presidents pronouncing it, was observed to smile, and lift up his eyes to Heaven; as appealing to the divine Majesty, the most supreme judge.

The King, at the rising of the Court, was with a guard of the halberdiers returned to White-Hall in a close chair, through King-Street, both sides whereof had a guard of foot-soldiers, who were silent as his Majesty passed. But shop-stalls and windows were full of people, many of which shed tears, and some of them with audible voices prayed for the King, who through the Privy-Garden was carried to his bed-chamber; whence, after two hours space, he was removed to St. James's. Nothing of the fear of death, or indignities offered, seemed a terror, or provoked him to impatience, nor uttered a reproachful word reflecting upon any of his Judges (albeit he well knew that some of them had been his domestick servants) or against any Member of the House, or officer of the Army; so wonderful was his patience, though his spirit was great, and might otherwise have expressed his resentments upon several occasions. It was true Christian-fortitude to have the mastery of his passion, and submission to the will of God under such temptations.

CHAPTER XI

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE TRIAL OF CHARLES I.

On Saturday, being the 20th, Day of January, 1649, the Lord President of the High Court of Justice, with near fourscore of the members of the said Court, having sixteen gentlemen with partizans, and a sword, and a mace, with their and other officers of the said Court, marching before them, came to the place ordered to be prepared for their sitting at the west end of the Great Hall at Westminster; where the Lord President, in a crimson velvet chair, fixed in the midst of the Court, placed himself, having a desk with a crimson velvet cushion before him; the rest of the members placing themselves on each side of him, upon several seats or benches, prepared and hung with scarlet

[1] John Bradshaw. He was the son of well-to-do parents in Cheshire, was educated as a barrister and practised in the country, coming up to London some time before 1643, at which date he was made judge of the sheriff's court. In the early days of 1649 he was called upon to be Lord President of the High Court appointed to try Charles I. There were many more distinguished jurists than he, but he combined an unusually deep knowledge of the Law with a willingness to serve in that post.

for that purpose; and the partizans dividing themselves on each side of the Court before them.

The Court being thus sat, and silence made, the great gate of the said Hall was set open, to the end all persons without exception, desirous to see or hear, might come into it. Upon which the Hall was presently filled, and silence again ordered.

This done, Colonel Thomlinson, who had the charge of the prisoner, was commanded to bring him to the Court; who within a quarter of an hour's space brought him, attended with about twenty officers with partizans, marching before him, there being other gentlemen, to whose care and custody he was likewise committed, marching in his rear.

Being thus brought up within the face of the Court, the Serjeant-at-Arms, with his mace, receives and conducts him strait to the bar, having a crimson velvet chair set before him. After a stern looking upon the Court, and the people in the galleries on each side of him, he places himself, not at all moving his hat, or otherwise shewing the least respect to the Court; but presently rises up again and turns about, looking downwards upon the guards placed on the left side, and on the multitude of spectators on the right side of the said great Hall. After silence made among the people, the Act of Parliament for the trying of Charles Stuart, King of England, was read over by the Clerk of the Court, who sat on

one side of a table covered with a rich Turkey carpet, and placed at the feet of the said Lord President; upon which table was also laid the sword and the mace.

After reading the said act, the several names of the Commissioners were called over, everyone who was present, being eighty, as aforesaid, rising up and answering to his call.

Having again placed himself in his chair, with his face toward the Court, silence being again ordered, the Lord President stood up and said,

Lord President—Charles Stuart, King of England, the Commons of England assembled in Parliament being deeply sensible of the calamities that have been brought upon this nation, which is fixed upon you as the principal author of it, have resolved to make inquisition for blood; and according to that debt and duty they owe to Justice, to God, the Kingdom and themselves, and according to the fundamental power that rests in themselves, they have resolved to bring you to trial and Judgment; and for that purpose have constituted the High Court of Justice, before which they are brought.

This said, Mr. Cook, Solicitor of the Commonwealth,[1] standing within a bar on the right hand of

[1] Little is known of the early life of John Cook except that he had travelled extensively in Europe. He made his reputation at the Bar in the latter years of Charles I.'s reign

the prisoner, offered to speak ; but the king, having a staff in his hand, held it up, and laid it on the said Mr. Cook's shoulder two or three times, bidding him hold. Nevertheless, the Lord President ordering him to go on, he said ;

Mr. Cook—My lord, I am commanded to charge Charles Stuart, King of England, in the name of the Commons of England, with Treason and High Misdemeanours ; I desire the said charge may be read.

The said charge being delivered to the Clerk of the Court, the Lord President ordered it should be read ; but the King bid him hold. Nevertheless, being commanded by the Lord President to read it, the Clerk begun, and the prisoner sat down again in his chair, looking sometimes on the High Court, sometimes up to the galleries ; and having risen again, and turned about to behold the guards and spectators, sat down, looking very sternly, and with a countenance not at all moved, till these words, viz. 'Charles Stuart to be a Tyrant and Traitor,' etc. were read ; at which he laughed, as he sat, in the face of the Court.

and in January, 1649, was appointed solicitor to the Commonwealth to prepare the charge against the King. After the execution he retired to estates which were granted him in Ireland, but at the Restoration was arrested, tried and executed as a regicide.

The Charge being read, the Lord President replied;

Lord President—Sir, You have now heard your charge, containing such matter as appears in it; you find that in the close of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of the Commons of England, that you answer to your charge. The Court expects your answer.

King—I would know by what power I am called hither; I was not long ago in the Isle of Wight; how I came there is a longer story than I think it fit at this present time for me to speak of; but there I entered into a treaty with both Houses of Parliament, with as much public faith as it is possible to be had with any people in the world. I treated there with a number of honourable lords and gentlemen, and treated honestly and uprightly; I cannot say but they did very nobly with me, we were upon the conclusion of the Treaty. Now I would know by what authority, I mean lawful; there are many unlawful authorities in the world, thieves and robbers by the highways; but I would know by what authority I was brought from thence and carried from place to place, and I know not what; and when I know what lawful authority, I shall answer. Remember I am your King, your lawful King, and what sins you bring upon your heads, and the judgment of God upon the land;

think well upon it, I say, think well upon it, before you go further from one sin to a greater, therefore let me know by what lawful authority I am seated here, and I shall not be unwilling to answer. In the meantime I shall not betray my trust; I have a trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful descent; I will not betray it, to answer to a new unlawful authority; therefore resolve me that and you shall hear more of me.

Lord President— If you had been pleased to have observed what was hinted to you by the Court, at your first coming hither, you would have known by what authority; which authority requires you, in the name of the people of England, of which you are elected King, to answer them.

King—No. Sir, I deny that.

Lord President—If you acknowledge not the authority of the Court, they must proceed.

King—I do tell them so; England was never an elective kingdom, but an hereditary kingdom, for near these thousand years; therefore let me know by what authority I am called hither. I do stand more for the liberty of my people, than any here that come to be my pretended judges; and therefore let me know by what lawful authority I am seated here, and I will answer it; otherwise I will not answer it.

Lord President—Sir, how really you have

managed your trust, is known : your way of answer is to interrogate the Court, which beseems not you on this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

King—Here is a gentleman, Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbet ; ask him, if he did not bring me from the Isle of Wight by force. I do not come here as submitting to the Court : I will stand as much for the privilege of the House of Commons, rightly understood, as any man here, whatsoever. I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a Parliament ; and the King too should have been. Is this the bringing of the King to his Parliament ? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty in the public faith of the world ? Let me see a legal authority warranted by the word of God, the Scriptures, or warranted by the constitutions of the Kingdom, and I will answer.

Lord President—Sir ; you have propounded a question and have been answered. Seeing you will not answer, the Court will consider how to proceed ; in the meantime, those that brought you hither, are to take charge of you back again. The Court desires to know, whether this be all the answer you will give or no.

King—Sir, I desire that you would give me, and all the world, satisfaction in this : let me tell you, it is not a slight thing you are about, I am sworn to

keep the peace, by the duty I owe to God and my country, and I will do it to the last breath of my body; and therefore ye shall do well to satisfy first God, and then the country, by what authority you do it; if you do it by an usurped authority, you cannot answer. There is a God in Heaven, that will call you and all that give you power, to account. Satisfy me in that, and I will answer; otherwise I betray my trust, and the Liberties of the people: and therefore think of that, and I shall be willing. For I do avow, that it is as great a sin to withstand lawful authority, as it is to submit to a tyrannical, or any other ways unlawful authority; and therefore satisfy me that, and you shall receive an answer.

Lord President—The Court expects you should give them a final answer; their purpose is to adjourn to Monday next; if you do not satisfy yourself, though we do tell you our authority, we are satisfied with our authority, and it is upon God's authority and the Kingdom's; and that peace you speak of will be kept in the doing of justice, and that is our present work.

King—For answer, let me tell you, you have shewn no lawful authority to satisfy any reasonable man.

Lord President—That is, in your apprehension; we are satisfied that are your judges.

The trial of the King.

King—It is not my apprehension, nor yours neither, that ought to decide it.

Lord President—The Court hath heard you, and you are to be disposed of as they have commanded.

The Court adjourns to the Painted Chamber, on Monday at ten of the clock in the forenoon, and thence hither.

It is to be observed that as the charge was reading against the King, the head of his staff fell off, which he wondered at; and seeing none to take it up, he stoops for it himself.

As the King went away, facing the Court, he said "I do not fear that" (meaning the Sword). The people in the Hall, as he went down the stairs, cried out, some, "God save the King" and most for "Justice."

At the High Court of Justice, sitting in Westminster Hall, Monday, January 22, 1649.

O Yes made; Silence commanded; the Court called and answered to their names. Silence commanded upon pain of imprisonment, and the Captain of the Guard to apprehend all such as make disturbance. Upon the King's coming in, a shout was made. Command given by the Court to the Captain of the Guard, to fetch and take into his custody those who make any disturbance.

Mr. Solicitor—May it please your lordship, my

Lord President ; I did at the last court in the behalf of the Commons of England, exhibit and give in to this court a Charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes, against the prisoner at the bar whereof I do accuse him in the name of the people of England ; and the Charge was read unto him, and his answer required. My lord, he was not then pleased to give an answer, but instead of answering, did there dispute the authority of this High Court. My humble motion to this High Court in behalf of the Kingdom of England is, that the prisoner may be directed to make a positive answer, either by way of confession or negation ; which if he shall refuse to do, that the matter of the Charge may be taken *pro confesso*, and the Court may proceed according to justice.

Lord President—Sir, you may remember at the last court you were told the occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge read against you, containing a Charge of High Treason and other high crimes against this realm of England : you heard likewise that it was prayed in behalf of the people, that you should give an answer to that Charge, that thereupon such proceedings might be had, as should be agreeable to justice. You were then pleased to make some scruples concerning the authority of this Court, and knew not by what authority you were brought hither ; you did divers

times propound your questions, and were as often answered. That it was by authority of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call you to account for those high and capital Misdemeanours wherewith you were then charged. Since that the Court hath taken into consideration what you then said; they are fully satisfied with their own authority, and they hold it fit you should stand satisfied with it too; and they do require it, that you do give a positive and particular answer to this charge that is exhibited against you; they do expect you should either confess or deny it; if you deny, it is offered in the behalf of the Kingdom to be made good against you; their authority they do avow to the whole world, that the whole Kingdom are to rest satisfied in, and you are to rest satisfied with it. And therefore you are to lose no more time, but to give a positive answer there unto.

King—When I was here last, it is very true, I made that question; truly if it were only my own particular case, I would have satisfied myself with the protestation I made the last time I was here against the legality of the Court, and that a King cannot be tried by any superior jurisdiction on earth; but it is not my case alone, it is the Freedom and the Liberty of the People of England; and do you pretend what you will, I stand more for their liberties. For if power without laws may make laws,

may alter the fundamental laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what subject he is in England, that can be sure of his life, or any thing that he calls his own : therefore when that I came here, I did expect particular reasons to know by what law, what authority you did proceed against me here. And therefore I am a little to seek what to say to you in this particular, because the affirmative is to be proved, the negative often is very hard to do ; but since I cannot persuade you to do it, I shall tell you my reasons as short as I can —My reasons why in conscience and the duty I owe to God first, and my people next, for the preservation of their lives, liberties, and estates I perceive I cannot answer this, till I be satisfied of the legality of it. All proceedings against any man whatsoever ——

Lord President—Sir, I must interrupt you, which I would not do, but that what you do is not agreeable to the proceedings of any court of Justice : You are about to enter into argument, and dispute concerning the authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a prisoner, and are charged as an high delinquent : if you take upon you to dispute the authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any court give way unto it : you are to submit unto it, you are to give a punctual and direct answer, whether you will answer your charge or no, and what your answer is.

King—Sir, by your favour, I do not know the forms of law: I do know law and reason, though I am no lawyer professed; but I know as much law as any gentleman in England; and therefore (under favour) I do plead for the liberties of the people of England more than you do; and therefore if I should impose a belief upon any man, without reasons given for it, it were unreasonable: but I must tell you, that that reason that I have, as thus informed I cannot yield unto it.

Lord President—Sir, I must interrupt you, you may not be permitted; you speak of law and reason; it is fit there should be law and reason, and there is both against you. Sir, the vote of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, it is the reason of the Kingdom, and they are these that have given to that law, according to which you should have ruled and reigned. Sir, you are not to dispute our authority, you are told it again by the Court. Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you stand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King—I do not know how a king can be a delinquent; but by any law that I ever heard of, all men (delinquents, or what you will) let me tell you, they may put in demurrers against any proceeding as legal: and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my reasons: if you deny that, you deny reason.

Lord President—Sir, you have offered something to the Court: I shall speak something unto you, the sense of the Court. Sir, neither you nor any man are permitted to dispute that point, you are concluded, you may not demur to the jurisdiction of the Court: if you do, I must let you know, that they over-rule your demurrer; they sit here by the authority of the Commons of England, and all your predecessors and you are responsible to them.

King—I deny that; shew me one precedent.

Lord President—Sir, you ought not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you. This point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it; if you offer it by way of demurrer to the jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their jurisdiction, they do affirm their own jurisdiction.

King—I say, Sir, by your favour, that the Commons of England was never a Court of Judicature: I would know how they came to be so.

Lord President—Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that speech and these discourses.

Then the Clerk of the Court read as followeth:—

"Charles Stuart King of England, you have been accused on behalf of the People of England of High Treasons, and other high crimes; the Court have determined that you ought to answer the same."

King—I will answer the same so soon as I know by what authority you do this.

Lord President—If this be all that you will say, then Gentlemen, you that brought the prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King—I do require that I may give in my reasons why I do not answer, and give me time for that.

Lord President—Sir, it is not for prisoners to require.

King—Prisoners! Sir, I am not an ordinary prisoner.

Lord President—The Court hath considered of their jurisdiction, and they have already affirmed their jurisdiction; if you will not answer, we shall give order to record your default.

King—You never heard my reasons yet.

Lord President—Sir, your reasons are not to be heard against the highest jurisdiction.

King—Shew me that jurisdiction where reason is not to be heard.

Lord President—Sir, we shew it you here. The Commons of England; and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasure of the Court; and it may be, their final determination.

King—Shew me where ever the House of Commons was a Court of Judicature of that kind.

Lord President—Serjeant, take away the prisoner.

King—Well, Sir, remember that the King is not suffered to give in his reasons for the Liberty and Freedom of all his subjects.

Lord President—Sir, you are not to have liberty to use this language ; How great a friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the People, let all England and the world judge.

King—Sir, under favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the subject, that ever I took —defended myself with arms ; I never took up arms against the people, but for the laws.

Lord President—The command of the Court must be obeyed ; no answer will be given to the charge.

King—Well, Sir !

And so he was guarded forth to Sir Robert Cotton's house. Then the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber on Tuesday at 12 o'clock, and from thence they intend to adjourn to Westminster Hall ; at which time all persons concerned are to give their attendance.

At the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster Hall, Tuesday, January 23, 1649.

O Yes made, Silence commanded, the Court called, 73 persons present. The King comes in with his guard, looks with an austere countenance upon the Court, and sits down. The second O yes made, and Silence commanded.

Mr. Cook, Solicitor-General—May it please your lordship, my lord President; this is now the third time, that by the great grace and favour of this High Court, the prisoner hath been brought to the bar before any issue joined in the cause. My lord, I did at the first court exhibit a charge against him, containing the highest Treasons that ever was wrought upon the theatre of England; That a king of England, trusted to keep the Law, that had taken an oath so to do, that had tribute paid him for that end, should be guilty of a wicked design to subvert and destroy our Laws, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government, in defiance of the Parliament and their authority, set up his standard for war against the Parliament and People: And I did humbly pray, in the behalf of the people of England, that he might speedily be required to make an answer to the charge. But my lord, instead of making any answer, he did then dispute the authority of this High Court. Your lordship was pleased to give him a further day to consider, and to put in his answer; which day being yesterday, I did humbly move, that he might be required to give a direct and positive answer, either by denying or confession of it; But, my lord, he was then pleased for to demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court; which the Court did then over-rule, and commanded him to give a direct and positive answer. My lord,

besides this great delay of justice, I shall now humbly move your lordship for speedy judgment against him. My lord, I might press your lordship upon the whole, that according to the known rules of the Law of the land, That if a prisoner shall stand as contumacious in contempt, and shall not put in an issuable plea, guilty or not guilty of the charge given against him, whereby he may come to a fair trial; that, as by an implicit confession, it may be taken *pro confesso*, as it hath been done to those who have deserved more favour than the prisoner at the bar has done. But, besides, my lord, I shall humbly press your lordship upon the whole fact. The House of Commons, the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, that it is notorious, that the matter of the charge is true, as it is in truth, my lord, as clear as crystal, and as the sun that shines at noon-day; which if your lordship and the Court be not satisfied in, I have notwithstanding, on the people of England's behalf, several witnesses to produce. And therefore, I do humbly pray, and yet I must confess it is not so much I, as the innocent blood that hath been shed, the cry whereof is very great for justice and judgment; and therefore I do humbly pray, that speedy judgment be pronounced against the prisoner at the bar.

Lord President—Sir, you have heard what is

moved by the Counsel on behalf of the Kingdom against you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget, what dilatory dealings the Court hath found at your hands. You were pleased to propound some questions, you have had our resolutions upon them. You were told over and over again that the Court did affirm their own jurisdiction ; that it was not for you, nor any other man, to dispute the jurisdiction of the supreme and highest authority of England, from which there is no appeal, and touching which there must be no dispute ; yet you did persist in such carriage, as you gave no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any authority in them, nor the High Court that constituted this Court of Justice. Sir, I must let you know from the Court, that they are very sensible of these delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus authorised by the supreme court of England, to be thus trifled withal ; and that they might in justice, if they pleased, and according to the rules of justice, take advantage of these delays and proceed to pronounce judgment against you ; yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalfs I do require you, that you make a positive answer unto this charge that is against you, Sir, in plain terms, for justice knows no respect of persons ; you are to give your positive and final answer in plain English, whether

you be guilty or not guilty of these Treasons laid to your charge.

The King after a little pause said,

King—When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the Liberties of the people of England ; I was interrupted ; I desire to know yet whether I may speak freely or not.

Lord President—Sir, you have had the resolution of the Court upon the like question the last day, and you were told that having such a charge of so high a nature against you, and your work was, that you ought to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court, and to answer to your charge. Sir, if you answer to your charge, which the Court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken advantage of your contempt ; yet if you be able to answer to your charge, when you have once answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best defence you can. But, Sir, I must let you know from the Court, as their commands, that you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other discourses, till such time as you have given a positive answer concerning the matter that is charged upon you.

King—For the charge, I value it not a rush ; it is the liberty of the people of England that I stand for. For me to acknowledge a new court that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that should be an example to all the people of England for to uphold

justice, to maintain the old laws: indeed I do not know how to do it. You spoke very well the first day that I came here (Saturday) of the obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintenance of the Liberties of my people; the same obligation you spoke of, I do acknowledge to God that I do owe to him, and to my people, to defend as much as in me lies, the ancient laws of the kingdom: therefore, until that I may know that this is not against the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom: by your favour I can put in no particular Charge. If you will give me time, I will shew you my reasons why I cannot do it, and this ——

Here being interrupted, he said,

By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me: How I came here I know not; there 's no law for it to make your king your prisoner. I was in a Treaty upon the public faith of the kingdom, that was the known[1] —— two Houses of Parliament that was the representative of the kingdom; and when that I had almost made an end of the Treaty, then I was hurried away, and brought hither: and therefore ——

Here the lord President said, Sir, you must know the pleasure of the Court.

King—By your favour, Sir.

Lord President—Nay, Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into these discourses;

[1] Probably there was a deletion here.

you appear as a delinquent, you have not acknowledged the authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you ; but once more they command you to give your positive answer—Clerk, do your duty.

King—Duty, Sir,

The clerk reads.

"Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accused in behalf of the Commons of England, of divers crimes and treasons, which charge hath been read unto you : the Court now requires you to give your positive and final answer, by way of confession or denial of the charge."

King—Sir, I again say to you, so that I might give satisfaction to the people of England of the clearness of my proceeding, not by way of answer, not in this way, but to satisfy them that I have done nothing against that trust that has been committed to me, I would do it ; but to acknowledge a new court, against their privileges, to alter the fundamental laws of the Kingdom—sir, you must excuse me.

Lord President—Sir, this is the third time that you have publicly disowned this court, and put an affront upon it. How far you have preserved the privileges of the people, your actions have spoke it ; but truly, Sir, men's intentions ought to be known by their actions ; you have written your meaning in bloody characters throughout the whole kingdom.

But, Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court. Clerk, record the default.—And, Gentlemen, you that took charge of the prisoner, take him back again.

King—I will only say this one word more to you: If it were only my own particular, I would not say any more, nor interrupt you.

Lord President—Sir, You have heard the pleasure of the Court, and you are (notwithstanding you will not understand it) to find that you are before a Court of Justice.

Then the King went forth with his guard, and proclamation was made that all persons which had then appeared, and had further to do at the Court, might depart into the Painted Chamber; to which place the Court did forthwith adjourn, and intended to meet in Westminster Hall by ten of the clock next morning.

Cryer—God bless the Kingdom of England.[1]

[1] Not the customary "God bless the King."

CHAPTER XII

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE TRIAL OF CHARLES I., CONTINUED

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 24th. 1649.

This day it was expected the High Court of Justice would have met in Westminster Hall, about ten of the clock; but at the time appointed, one of the ushers, by direction of the Court (then sitting in the Painted Chamber) gave notice to the people there assembled, that in regard the Court was then upon the examination of witnesses, in relation to present affairs, in the Painted Chamber, they could not sit there; but all persons appointed to be there, were to appear upon further summons.

The Proceedings of the High Court of Justice, sitting in Westminster Hall, on Saturday the 27th. January, 1649.

O Yes made: Silence commanded; the Court called, Serjeant Bradshaw Lord President (in a scarlet robe),[1] with sixty-eight other members of the Court.

[1] He also wore, during the trial, a high beaver hat lined with steel for protection.

As the King comes in, a cry made in the Hall for Execution !

Justice ! Execution !

King.—I shall desire a word to be heard a little, and I hope I shall give no occasion of interruption.

Lord President—You may answer in your time, hear the Court first.

King—If it please you Sir, I desire to be heard, and I shall not give any occasion of interruption, and it is only in a word : a sudden judgment.

Lord President—Sir, you shall be heard in due time, but you are to hear the Court first.

King—Sir, I desire—it will be in order to what I believe the Court will say ; and therefore, Sir, an hasty judgment is not so soon recalled.

Lord President—Sir, you shall be heard before the judgment be given, and in the meantime you may forbear.

King—Well, Sir, Shall I be heard before the judgment be given.

Lord President—Gentlemen, it is well known to all, or most of you here present, that the prisoner at the bar hath been several times convened and brought before the court to make answer to a charge of Treason, and other high crimes exhibited against him in the name of the people of England (here a

Malignant lady, Lady Fairfax, interrupted the Court, saying "Not half the people"; but she was soon silenced. (See the Trial of Daniel Axtell, Oct. 15, 1660); to which Charge being required to answer he hath been so far from obeying the commands of the Court by submitting to their justice, as he began to take upon him to offer reasoning and debate unto the authority of the Court, and of the highest court that constituted them to try and judge him: but being over-ruled in that, and required to make his answer, he was still pleased to continue contumacious, and to refuse to submit or answer. Hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themselves, to the trust reposed in them, nor that any man's wilfulness prevent justice, they have thought fit to take the matter into their consideration, they have considered of the Charge, they have considered of the contumacy, and of that confession, which in law doth arise upon that contumacy. They have likewise considered of the notoriety of the fact charged upon this prisoner, and upon the whole matter they are resolved, and have agreed upon a sentence to be now pronounced against this prisoner; but in respect he doth desire to be heard, before the sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath resolved that they will hear him. Yet, Sir, thus much I must tell you beforehand, which you have been minded of at other courts, that if that you have to say be to offer any

debate concerning jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it ; you have offered it formerly, and you have indeed struck at the root, that is, the power and supreme authority of the Commons of England, which this court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a court that acts upon authority derived from them, that they should presume to judge upon their superior, from whom there is no appeal. But, Sir, if you have anything to say in defence of yourself concerning the matter charged, the Court hath given me in command to let you know they will hear you.

King—Since that I see that you will not hear anything of debate concerning that which I confess I thought most material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I shall wave it ; I shall speak nothing to it, but only I must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that, that I call more dear to me than my life, which is my conscience and my honour : and if I had respect to my life more than the Peace of the Kingdom, the Liberty of the Subject, certainly I should have made a particular defence for myself ; for by that at leastwise I might have delayed an ugly sentence, which I believe will pass upon me. Therefore certainly, Sir, as a man that hath some understanding, some knowledge of the world, if that my true zeal to my country had not overborne the

care that I have of my own preservation, I should have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now, Sir, I conceive, that an hasty sentence once passed, may sooner be repented than recalled; and truly, the self-same desire that I have for the peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the subject more than my own particular, does make me now at last desire, that having something for to say that concerns both, I desire before sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and the Commons. This delay cannot be prejudicial to you, whatsoever I say; if that I say no reason, those that hear me must be judges: I cannot be judge of that, which I have: if it be reason, and really for the welfare of the Kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, I am sure on't, very well it is worth the hearing; therefore I do conjure you, as you love that which you pretend, I hope it is real, the liberty of the subject, the peace of the Kingdom, that you will grant me the hearing, before any sentence be past. I only desire this, that you will take this into your consideration, it may be that you have not heard of it before-hand; if you will, I 'll retire, and you may think of it; but if I cannot get this liberty I do here protest, that so fair shews of Liberty and Peace are pure shews, and not otherwise, since you will not hear your King.[1]

[1] Probably Charles intended to abdicate in favour of the Prince of Wales.

Lord President—Sir, you have now spoken.

King—Yes, Sir.

Lord President—And this that you have said is a further declining of the Jurisdiction of this Court, which was the thing wherein you were limited before.

King—Pray excuse me, Sir, for my interruption, because you mistake me ; it is not a declining of it, you do judge me before you hear me speak ; I say it will not, I do not decline it, though I cannot acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court ; yet, sir, in this give me leave to say, I would do it, though I do not by this acknowledge it, I do protest it is not the declining of it, since I say, if that I do say anything, but that which is for the Peace of the kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, then the shame is mine. Now I desire that you will take this into your consideration ; if you will, I 'll withdraw.

Lord President—Sir, this is not altogether new that you have moved unto us, not altogether new to us, though it is the first time in person you have offered it to the Court. Sir, you say you do not decline the Jurisdiction of the Court.

King—Not in this that I have said.

Lord President—I understand you well, Sir, ; but nevertheless, that which you have offered seems to be contrary to that saying of yours ; for the Court are ready to give a sentence. It is not as you say,

that they will not hear your king; for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your pleasure for three Courts together, to hear what you would say to the People's charge against you, to which you have not vouchsafed to give any answer at all. Sir, this tends to a further delay; truly, Sir, such delays as these, neither may the Kingdom nor justice well bear; you have had three several days to have offered in this kind what you would have pleased. This Court is founded upon that authority of the Commons of England in whom rests the supreme jurisdiction: that which you now tender is to have another jurisdiction, and a co-ordinate jurisdiction. I know very well that you express yourself, Sir, that notwithstanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, yet nevertheless you would proceed on here, I hear you say so.

But Sir, that you would offer there, whatever it is, it must needs be in delay of the Justice here; so as if this Court be resolved, and prepared for the sentence, this that you offer they are not bound in justice to grant; But, Sir, according to what you seem to desire, and because you shall know the further pleasure of the Court upon that which you have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time.

King—Shall I withdraw?

Lord President—Sir, You shall know the pleasure of the Court presently.

The Court withdraws for half an Hour into the Court of Wards.

Serjeant-at-Arms—The Court gives command that the prisoner be withdrawn ; and they give order for his return again.

The Court withdraws for half an Hour and returns.

Lord President—Serjeant-at-Arms, send for your prisoner.

Sir, you were pleased to make a motion here to the Court to offer a desire of yours, touching the propounding of somewhat to the Lords in the Painted Chamber, for the peace of the Kingdom ; Sir, you did in effect, receive an answer before the Court adjourned ; truly, Sir, their withdrawing, and adjournment was *pro forma tantum :* for it did not seem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing ; they have considered of what you have moved, and have considered of their own authority, which is founded, as hath been often said, upon the supreme authority of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament : the Court acts according to their commission. Sir, the return I have to you from the Court, is this : That they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer hath occasioned some little further delay ; and they are judges appointed by the highest judges ; and judges are no more to delay, than they are to

deny justice : they are good words in the great old charter of England ; *Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli differemus Justitiam.* There must be no delay ; but the truth is, Sir, and so every man here observes it, that you have much delayed them in your Contempt and Default, for which they might long since have proceeded to judgment against you ; and notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to punishment, and that is their unanimous Resolution.

King—Sir, I know it is in vain for me to dispute, I am not sceptic for to deny the power that you have ; I know that you have power enough : Sir, I confess, I think it would have been for the Kingdom's peace, if you would have taken the pains for to have shewn the lawfulness of your power ; for this delay that I have desired, I confess it is a delay, but it is a delay very important for the Peace of the Kingdom ; for it is not my person that I look on alone, it is the kingdom's welfare, and the Kingdom's peace ; it is an old Sentence, That we should think long before we resolve of great matters. Therefore, Sir, I do say again, that I do put at your doors all the inconveniency of an hasty sentence. I confess I have been here now, I think, this week ; this day eight days was the day I came here first, but a little delay of a day or two further may give peace ; whereas an hasty judgment may bring on that trouble and

perpetual inconveniency to the Kingdom, that the child that is unborn may repent it; and therefore again, out of the duty I owe to God, and to my country, I do desire that I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, or any other chamber that you will appoint me.

Lord President—Sir, you have been already answered to what you even now moved, being the same you moved before, since the resolution and the judgment of the Court in it; and the Court now requires to know whether you have any more to say for yourself than you have said, before they proceed to sentence?

King—I say this Sir, That if you will hear me, if you will but give this delay, I doubt not but I shall give some satisfaction to you all here, and to my people after that; and therefore I do require you, as you will answer it at the dreadful day of judgment, that you will consider it once again.

Lord President—Sir, I have received direction from the Court.

King—Well, Sir.

Lord President—If this must be re-enforced, or anything of this nature, your answer must be the same; and they will proceed to sentence, if you have nothing more to say.

King—Sir, I have nothing more to say, but I

shall desire, that this may be entered what I have said.

Lord President—The Court, then, Sir, hath something else to say to you :[1] which, although I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithstanding they are willing, and are resolved to discharge their duty. Sir, You speak very well of a precious thing, which you call peace ; and it had been much to be wished that God had put it into your heart, that you had as effectually and really endeavoured and studied the peace of the Kingdom, as now in words you seem to pretend ; but, as you were told the other day, actions must expound intentions ; yet actions have been clean contrary. And truly, Sir, it doth appear plainly enough to them, that you have gone upon very erroneous principles : The Kingdom hath felt it to their smart ; and it will be no ease to you to think of it ; for, Sir, you have held yourself, and let fall such language, as if you had been no way subject to the Law, or that the Law had not been your superior. Sir, the Court is very sensible of it, and I hope so are all

[1] Cook also had prepared a long and vituperative speech but was unable to deliver it since Charles refused to plead. It was subsequently published under the title of " King Charles his Case, or an appeal to all rational men concerning his trial in the High Court of Justice, being for the most part that which was intended to have been delivered at the bar if the King had pleaded to the charge."

the understanding people of England, that the Law is your superior; that you ought to have ruled according to the Law; you ought to have so. Sir, I know very well your pretence hath been that you have done so; but, Sir, the difference hath been who shall be the expositors of this Law: Sir, whether you and your party, out of courts of justice, shall take upon them to expound Law, or the courts of justice, who are the expounders? Nay, the Sovereign and the High Court of Justice, the Parliament of England, that are not only the highest expounders, but the sole makers of the Law? Sir, for you to set yourself with your single judgment and those that adhere unto you, to set yourself against the highest Court of Justice, that is not Law. Sir, as the Law is your superior, so truly, Sir, there is something that is superior to the Law, and that is indeed the parent or author of the Law, and that is the people of England: for, Sir, as they are those that at the first (as other countries have done) did chuse to themselves this form of government even for Justice sake, that justice might be administered, that peace might be preserved; so, Sir, they gave laws to their governours, according to which they should govern; and if those laws should have proved inconvenient or prejudicial to the public, they had a power in them, and reserved to themselves, to alter as they shall see cause. Sir, it is very true what some of your side have said,

'*Rex non habet parem in regno,*' say they: This court will say the same, while King, that you have not your peer in some sense, for you are *major singulis;* but they will aver again that you are *minor universis.* And the same author tells you that, '*non debet esse major eo in regno suo in exhibitione juris, minimus autem esse debet in judicio suscipiendo*' (Bract., De Leg., lib. I.c. vlll) This we know to be the Law, *Rex habet superiorem, Deum et legem, etiam et curiam;* so says the same author. And truly Sir, he makes bold to go a little further, *Debent ei ponere froenum:* they ought to bridle him. And, Sir, we know very well the stories of old, those wars that were called the Barons' War, when the nobility of the land did stand out for the liberty and property of the subject, and would not suffer the Kings, that did invade, to play the tyrants free, but called them to account for it; we know that truth, that they did *froenum ponere.* But, Sir, if they do forbear to do their duty now, and are not so mindful of their own honour and the Kingdom's good as the Barons of England of old were, certainly the Commons of England will not be unmindful of what is for their preservation, and for their safety; *Justitiae fruendi causa reges constituti sunt.* This we learn: The end of having kings, or any other governors, it is for the enjoying of justice; that is the end. Now, Sir, if so be the King will go contrary to that end, or any other governour will go

contrary to the end of his government ; Sir, he must understand that he is but an officer in trust, and he ought to discharge that trust ; and they are to take order for the animadversion and punishment of such an offending governour.

This is not law of yesterday, Sir, (since the time of the division betwixt you and your people), but it is law of old. And we know very well the Authors and authorities that do tell us what the law was in that point upon the election of Kings upon the oath that they took unto their people : And if they did not observe it, there are those things called Parliaments ; the Parliaments were they that were to adjudge (the very words of the author) the plaints and wrongs done of the King and the Queen, or their children ; such wrongs especially, when the people could have no where else any remedy. Sir, that hath been the people of England's case : they could not have their remedy elsewhere but in Parliament.

Sir, Parliaments were ordained for that purpose, to redress the grievances of the people ; that was their main end and, truly, Sir, if so be that the Kings of England had been rightly mindful of themselves, they were never more in majesty and state than in the Parliament : But how forgetful some have been, stories have told us, we have a miserable, a lamentable, a sad experience of it. Sir, by the old Laws of England, I speak these things the rather to

you, because you were pleased to let fall the other day, you thought you had as much knowledge in the Law as most gentlemen in England : it is very well, Sir. And truly, Sir, it is very fit for the gentlemen of England to understand that Law under which they must live, and by which they must be governed. And then, Sir, the Scripture says, ' They that know their master's will and do it not ' what follows ? The Law is your master, the acts of Parliament.

The Parliaments were to be kept antiently, we find in our old author, twice in the year, that the subject upon any occasion might have a ready remedy and redress for his grievance. Afterwards, by several acts of Parliaments in the days of your predecessor Edward the third, they should have been once a year. Sir, what the intermission of Parliaments hath been in your time, it is very well known and the sad consequences of it ; and what in the interim instead of these Parliaments hath been by you by an high and arbitrary hand introduced upon the people, that likewise hath been too well known and felt. But when God by his Providence had so far brought it about, that you could no longer decline the calling of a Parliament Sir, yet it will appear what your ends were against the antient and your native kingdom of Scotland : the Parliament of England not serving your ends against them, you were pleased to dissolve it. Another great necessity

occasioned the calling of this Parliament and what your designs, and plots and endeavours all along have been for the crushing and confounding of this Parliament, hath been very notorious to the whole Kingdom. And truly, Sir, in what way you did strike at all that had been a sure way to have brought about that that this charge lays upon you, your intention to subvert the fundamental laws of the land; for the great bulwark of the liberties of the People is the Parliament of England; and to subvert and root up that, which your aim hath been to do, certainly at one blow you had confounded the Liberties and the Property of England.

Truly, Sir, it makes me call to mind; I cannot forbear to express it; for, Sir, we must deal plainly with you, according to the merits of your cause; so is our commission; it makes me to call to mind (these proceedings of yours) that that we read of a great Roman Emperor, by the way let us call him a great Roman tyrant, Caligula, that wished that the people of Rome had had but one neck that at one blow he might cut it off. And your proceedings have been somewhat like to this; for the body of the People of England hath been (and where else) represented but in the Parliament; and could you but have confounded that, you had at one blow cut off the neck of England. But God hath reserved better things for us, and hath pleased for to confound

your designs, and to break your forces and to bring your person into custody, that you might be responsible to justice.

Sir, we know very well that it is a question much on your side press'd, By what precedent we shall proceed. Truly, Sir, for Precedents, I shall not upon these occasions institute any long discourse; but it is no new thing to cite precedents almost of all nations, where the people (where the power hath been in their hands) have made bold to call their Kings to account; and where the change of government hath been upon occasion of the Tyranny and Misgovernment of those that have been placed over them, I will not spend time to mention either France, or Spain, or the Empire, or other countries; volumes may be written of it. But truly, Sir, that of the Kingdom of Arragon, I shall think some of us have thought upon it, where they have the justice of Arragon, that is, a man, *tanquam in medio positus*, betwixt the King of Spain and the people of the country; that if wrong be done by the King, he that is King of Arragon, the justice hath power to reform the wrong; and he is acknowledged to be the King's superior, and is the grand preserver of their privileges, and hath prosecuted kings upon their miscarriages.

Sir, what the Tribunes of Rome were heretofore, and what the Ephori were to the Lacedemonian

State, we know that is the Parliament of England to the English state ; and though Rome seemed to lose its liberty when once the Emperors were ; yet you shall find some famous acts of justice even done by the Senate of Rome ; that great tyrant of his time, Nero, condemned and judged by the Senate. But truly, Sir, to you I should not need to mention these foreign examples and stories : If you look but over the Tweed, we find enough in your native kingdom of Scotland. If we look to your first King Fergus, that your stories make mention of, he was an elective King ; he died, and left two sons, both in their minority, the kingdom made choice of their uncle, his brother, to govern in the minority. Afterwards the elder brother, giving small hope to the people that he would rule or govern well, seeking to supplant that good uncle of his that governed them justly, they set the elder aside, and took to the younger. Sir, if I should come to what your stories make mention of, you know very well you are the hundred and ninth king of Scotland ; for not to mention so many kings as that kingdom, according to their power and privileges, have made bold to deal withal, some to banish and some to imprison, and some to put to death, it would be too long : and as one of your own authors says, it would be too long to recite the manifold examples that your own stories make mention of. *Reges*, etc, (they say)

we do create: *Leges*, etc. we imposed laws upon them. And as they are chosen by the suffrages of the People at the first, so upon just occasion, by the same suffrages they may be taken down again. And we will be bold to say, that no kingdom hath yielded more plentiful experience than that your native Kingdom of Scotland hath done concerning the Deposition and Punishment of their offending and transgressing kings. It is not far to go for an example: near you—Your grandmother[1] set aside, and your father an infant, crowned. And the State did it here in England; here hath not been a want of some examples. They have made bold (The Parliament and the People of England) to call their kings to account; there are frequent examples of it in the Saxon's time, the time before the Conquest. Since the Conquest there want not some precedents neither King Edward the Second, King Richard the Second, were dealt with so by the Parliament, as they were deposed and deprived. And truly, Sir, whosoever shall look into their stories, they shall not find the articles that are charged upon them to come near to that height and capitalness of crimes that are laid to your charge; nothing near.

Sir, you were pleased to say, the other day, wherein they dissent; and I did not contradict it. But take all together, Sir, if you were as the Charge

[1] Mary, Queen of Scots.

speaks, and no otherwise, admitted King of England ; but for that you were pleased then to alledge, how that for almost a thousand years these things have been, stories will tell you, if you go no higher than the time of the Conquest ; if you do come down since the Conquest, you are the twenty-fourth King from William called the Conqueror, you shall find one half of them to come merely from the State, and not merely upon the point of descent. It were easy to be instanced to you ; but time must not be lost that way. And truly, Sir, what a grave and learned Judge said in his time, and well known to you, and is since printed for posterity, That although there was such a thing as descent many times, yet the Kings of England ever held the greatest assurance of their titles when it was declared by Parliament. And, Sir, your Oath, the manner of your coronation doth shew plainly, that the Kings of England, although it is true, by the law the next person in blood is designed ; yet if there were just cause to refuse him, the people of England might do it. For there is a contract and a bargain made between the King and his People, and your oath is taken ; and certainly, Sir, the bond is reciprocal ; for as you are the liege Lord, so they the Liege Subjects. And we know very well, that hath been so much spoken of, *Ligeantia est duplex.* This we know, now, the one tie, the one bond, is the bond of Protection that is due from the Sovereign ;

the other is the bond of Subjection that is due from the Subject. Sir, if this bond be once broken, farewell sovereignty. *Subjectio trahit,* etc.

These things may not be denied, Sir ; I speak it rather, and I pray God it may work upon your heart, that you may be sensible of your miscarriages. For whether you have been, as by your office you ought to be, a Protector of England, or the Destroyer of England let all England judge, or all the world, that hath look'd upon it. Sir, though you have it by inheritance in the way that is spoken of yet it must not be denied that your office of trust, and indeed an office of the highest trust lodged in any single person ; For as you were the Grand Administrator of Justice, and others were, as your delegates, to see it done throughout your realms ; if your greatest office were to do Justice, and preserve your people from wrong, and instead of doing that, you will be the great Wrong-doer yourself ; if instead of being a Conservator of the Peace you will be the grand Disturber of the Peace ; surely this is contrary to your office, contrary to your trust. Now, Sir, if it be an office of inheritance, as you speak of, your title by descent, let all men know that great offices are seizable and forfeitable, as if you had it but for a year, and for your life. Therefore, Sir, it will concern you to take into your serious consideration your great miscarriages in this kind. Truly, Sir, I shall

not particularize the many Miscarriages of your reign whatsoever, they are famously known : It had been happy for the Kingdom, and happy for you too, if it had not been so much known, and so much felt, as the story of your miscarriages must needs be, and hath been already. Sir, that which we are now upon, by the command of the highest court, hath been and is to try and judge you for these great offences of your's. Sir, the Charge hath called you a Tyrant, a Traitor, a Murderer, and a Public Enemy to the Commonwealth of England. Sir, it had been well if that any of all these terms might rightly and justly have been spared, if any one of them at all.

King—Ha !

Lord President—Truly, Sir, we have been told '*Rex est dum bene regit, Tyrannus qui populum opprimit*' : And if so be that be the definition of a tyrant, by that way of arbitrary government, and that you have sought for to introduce, and that you have sought to put, you were putting upon the people ? Whether that was not as high an Act of Tyranny as any of your predecessors were guilty of, nay, many degrees beyond it ?

Sir, the term Traitor cannot be spared. We shall easily agree it must denote and suppose a breach of trust ; and it must suppose it to be done to a superior. And therefore, Sir, as the people of

England might have incurred that respecting you, if they had been truly guilty of it, as to the definition of Law; so on the other side, when you did break your trust to the kingdom, you did break your trust to your superior; For the kingdom is that for which you were trusted. And therefore Sir, for this breach of trust when you are called to account by your superiors. '*Minimus ad majorem in judicium vocat.*' And, Sir, the people of England cannot be so far wanting to themselves, God having dealt so miraculously and gloriously for them: but that having power in their hands, and their great enemy, they must proceed to do justice to themselves and to you: For, Sir, the Court could heartily desire, that you would lay your hand upon your heart, and consider what you have done amiss, that you would endeavour to make your peace with God. Truly, sir, these are your high crimes, Tyranny and Treason.

There is a third thing too, if those had not been, and that is murder, which is laid to your charge. All the bloody murders, which have been committed since this time that the division was betwixt you and your people, must be laid to your charge, which have been acted or committed in these late years. Sir, it is an heinous and crying sin: and truly, Sir, if any man will ask us what punishment is due to a murderer, let God's law, let man's law speak. Sir, I will presume that you are so well read in Scripture,

as to know what God himself hath said concerning the shedding of man's blood: Gen. IX., Numb. XXXV. will tell you what the punishment is: And which this Court, in behalf of the whole kingdom, are sensible of, of that innocent blood that hath been shed, whereby indeed the land stands still defiled with that blood; and, as the text hath it, it can no way be cleansed but with the shedding of the blood of him that shed this blood. Sir, we know no dispensation from this blood in that commandment 'Thou shalt do no murder': We do not know but that it extends to kings as well as to the meanest peasants, the meanest of the people: the command is universal. Sir, God's law forbids it: Man's law forbids it: Nor do we know that there is any manner of exception, not even in man's laws, for the punishment of murder in you. It is true, that in the case of king's every private hand was not put forth itself to this work for their reformation and punishment; But, Sir, the people represented having power in their hands, had there been but one wilful act of murder by you committed, had power to have convened you, and to have punished you for it.

But then, Sir, the weight that lies upon you in all those respects that have been spoken, by reason of your tyranny, Treason, Breach of Trust, and the Murders that have been committed; surely, Sir, it

must drive you into a sad consideration concerning your eternal condition. As I said at first, I know it cannot be pleasing to you to hear any such things as these are mentioned unto you from this Court, for so we do call ourselves, and justify ourselves to be a court, and a High Court of Justice, authorized by the highest and solemnest court of the kingdom, as we have often said; And although you do not yet endeavour what you may to discourt us, yet we do take knowledge of ourselves to be such a court as can administer Justice to you: and we are bound, Sir, in duty to do it. Sir, all I shall say before the reading of your sentence, it is but this: This Court does heartily desire that you will think seriously of those evils that you stand guilty of. Sir, You said well to us the other day, you wished us to have God before our eyes. Truly Sir, I hope all of us have so: That God, who we know is a King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; that God with whom there is no respect of persons; that God, who is the avenger of innocent blood; We have that God before us; that God, who does bestow a curse upon them that with-hold their hands from shedding of blood, which is in the case of guilty malefactors, and that do deserve death: That God we have before our eyes. And were it not that the conscience of our duty hath called us unto this place, and this imployment, Sir, you should have had no appearance of a Court here. But, Sir,

we must prefer the discharge of our duty unto God, and unto the Kingdom, before any other respect whatsoever. And although at this time many of us, if not all of us, are severely threatened by some of your party, what they intend to do, Sir, we do here declare, That we shall not decline or forbear the doing of our duty in the administration of Justice, even to you, according to the merit of your offence, although God should permit those men to effect all that bloody design in hand against us. Sir, we will say, and we will declare it, as those children in the fiery furnace, that would not worship the Golden Image, that Nebuchadnezzar had set up, 'That their God was able to deliver them from that danger that they were near unto'; But yet if he would not do it, yet notwithstanding that they would not fall down and worship the image. We shall thus apply it; That though we should not be delivered from those bloody hands and hearts that conspire the overthrow of the kingdom in general, of us in particular, for acting in this great work of Justice, though we should perish in the Work, yet by God's grace, and by God's strength, we will go on with it. And this is all our resolutions, Sir, I say for yourself, we do heartily wish and desire that God would be pleased to give you a sense of your sins, that you would see wherein you have done amiss, that you may cry unto him, that God would deliver you from

Blood-guiltiness. A good king was once guilty of that particular thing, and was clear otherwise, saving in the matter of Uriah. Truly, Sir, the story tells us that he was a repentant king: and it signifies enough, that he died for it, but that God was pleased to accept of him, and to give him his pardon, 'Thou shalt not die, but the child shall die: Thou hast given cause to the enemies of God to blaspheme.'

King—I would desire only one word before you give sentence; and that is, that you would hear me concerning those great imputations that you have laid to my charge.

Lord President—Sir, you must give me now leave to go on; for I am not far from your sentence, and your time is now past.

King—But I shall desire you will hear me a few words to you: For truly, whatever sentence you will put upon me in respect of those heavy imputations, that I see by your speech you have put upon me; Sir, It is very true, that ——

Lord President—Sir, I must put you in mind: Truly, Sir, I would not willingly, at this time especially, interrupt you in anything you have to say, that is proper for us to admit of; but; Sir, you have not owned us as a Court, and you look upon us as a sort of people met together; and we know what language we receive from your party.

King—I know nothing of that.

Lord President—You disavow us as a Court; and therefore for you to address yourself to us, not acknowledging us as a Court to judge of what you say, it is not to be permitted. And the truth is, all along, from the first time you were pleased to disavow and disown us, the Court needed not to have heard you one word; For unless they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to speak. Sir, we have given you too much liberty already, and admitted of too much delay, and we may not admit of any further. Were it proper for us to do it we should hear you freely; and we should not have declined to hear you at large, what you could have said or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excusing, or for in part excusing those great and heinous charges, that in whole or in part are laid upon you. But Sir, I shall trouble you no longer; your sins are of so large a dimension, that if you do not seriously think of them, they will drive you to a sad consideration of it, and they may improve in you a sad and serious repentance; And that the Court doth heartily wish that you may be so penitent for what you have done amiss, that God may have mercy, at leastwise, upon your better part: Truly, Sir, for the other, it is our parts and duties to do that, which the law prescribes.

We are not here *jus dare* but *jus dicere*. We cannot be unmindful of what the Scripture tells us; 'For to acquit the guilty is of equal abomination, as to condemn the innocent.' We may not acquit the guilty. What sentence the Law affirms to a Traitor, Tyrant, a Murderer, and a Public Enemy to the Country, that sentence you are now to hear read unto you; and that is the sentence of the Court.

The Lord President commands the sentence to be read: make an O Yes, and command silence while the sentence is read.

O Yes made: Silence commanded.

The Clerk read the sentence, which was drawn up in Parchment: 'Whereas the Commons of England in Parliament had appointed them an High Court of Justice, for the Trying of Charles Stuart, King of England, before whom he had been three times convened; and at the first time a charge of High-Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanours, was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of England,' etc. (Here the clerk read the Charge) 'Which charge being read unto him, as aforesaid, he the said Charles Stuart was required to give his Answer: But he refused so to do; and so expressed the several passages of his Trial in refusing to answer. For all which Treasons and Crimes this Court doth

adjudge, That the said Charles Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer. and a Public Enemy, shall be put to death, by the severing his Head from His Body."

After the Sentence read, the Lord President said, This Sentence now read and published, is the Act, Sentence, Judgment, and Resolution of the whole Court.

Here the Court stood up, as assenting to what the President said.

King—Will you hear me a word, Sir?

Lord President—Sir, you are not to be heard after the Sentence.

King—No, Sir?

Lord President—No, Sir, by your favour, Sir. Guard, withdraw your Prisoner.

King—I may speak after the Sentence—By your favour, Sir, Sir, I may speak after the Sentence ever.

By your favour (Hold.) the Sentence, Sir ——

I say, Sir, I do ——

I am not suffered for to speak: Expect what Justice other people will have.

O Yes: All manner of Persons that have anything else to do, are to depart at this time, and to give their attendance in the Painted Chamber; to which

place this Court doth forthwith adjourn itself. Then the Court rose, and the King went with his Guard to Sir Robert Cotton's, and from thence to Whitehall. [1]

[1] Preparations were now pushed on for the execution of the sentence. The death warrant was signed by the chief persons present. It was drawn up as follows :

To Colonel Francis Hacker, Colonel Huncks, and Lieutenant-Colonel Phayr, and to every one of them.

At the High Court Of Justice for the Trying and Judging of Charles Stuart, King of England, 29th January, 1648. [2]

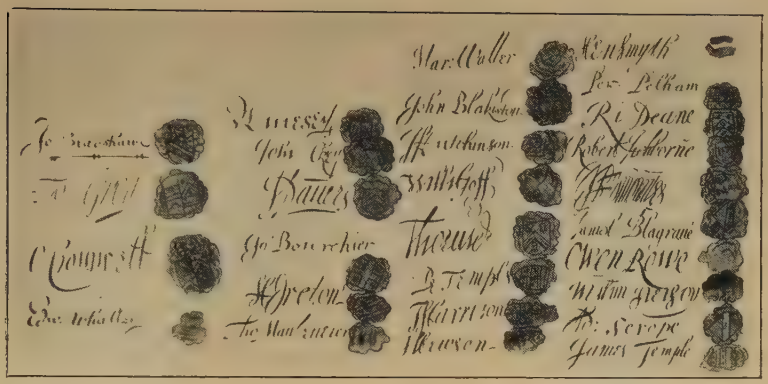
Whereas Charles Stuart, King of England, is and standeth convicted, attainted and condemned of High Treason and other high crimes ; and Sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court, To be put to death by the severing of his head from his body ; of which sentence execution yet remaineth to be done. These are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed, in the open street before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being the thirtieth day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the afternoon, with full effect. And for so doing this shall be your warrant.

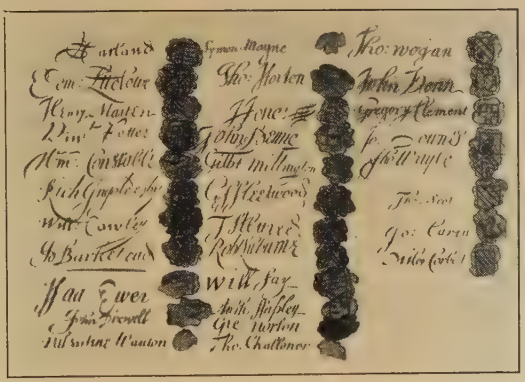
And these are to require all officers and soldiers, and others the good people of this nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this service.

Given under our hands and seals,

John Bradshaw.
Thomas Grey, " Lord Groby."
Oliver Cromwell (etc.).

[2] 1649.





The signatures on the death warrant of Charles I.

CHAPTER XIII

SIR THOMAS HERBERT'S NARRATIVE, CONTINUED

THE King now bidding farewell to the world, his whole business was a serious preparation for death, which opens the door unto Eternity; in order thereunto, he laid aside all other thoughts and spent the remainder of his time in prayer and other pious exercises of devotion, and in conference with that meek and learned Bishop, Dr. Juxon, who, under God, was a great support to him in that his afflicted condition; and resolving to sequester himself so, as he might have no disturbance to his mind, nor interruption to his meditations, he ordered Mr. Herbert to excuse it to any that might have the desire to visit him. I know (said the King) my nephew, the Prince-Elector will endeavour it, and some other lords that love me, which I would take in good part, but my time is short and precious, and I am desirous to improve it the best I may in preparation; I hope they will not take it ill, that none have access unto me but my children. The best office they can do now is to pray for me. And it fell out accordingly; for his Electoral Highness, accompanied by the Duke of Richmond, the Lord Marquis of Hartford, the Earls of Southampton

and Lindsey, with some more, having got leave, came to the bed-chamber door, where Mr. Herbert, pursuant to the King's command, acquainted the Prince-Elector, and those noblemen, with what the King gave him in charge, wherein they acquiesced, and presenting their humble duty to his Majesty, with their prayers, they returned with hearts full of sorrow, as appeared by their faces. The Prince also (then in Holland) by the States ambassadors interceded with the Parliament and used all possible means with the Army to prevent, or at least for the deferring of Execution.

At this time also came to St. James's Mr. Calamy, Mr. Vines, Mr. Carryl, Mr. Dell, and some other London ministers, who presented their duty to the King, with their humble desires to pray with him, and perform other offices of service, if his Majesty pleased to accept of 'em. The King returned them thanks for their love to his soul, hoping that they, and all other his good subjects, would, in their addresses to God, be mindful of him. But in regard he had made choice of Dr. Juxon (whom for many years he had known to be a pious and learned divine, and able to administer ghostly comfort to his soul, suitable to his present condition) he would have none other. These ministers were no sooner gone, but Mr. John Goodwyn (minister in Coleman-street) came likewise upon the same account, to tender his

service, which the King also thanked him for, and dismissed him with the like friendly answer.

Mr. Herbert about this time going to the Cockpit near White-Hall, where the Earl of Pembroke's lodgings were, he then as at sundry other times, enquired how his Majesty did, and gave his humble duty to him, and withal, asked him, if his Majesty had the gold watch he sent for, and how he liked it. Mr. Herbert assured his lordship, the King had not yet received it. The Earl fell presently into a passion, marvelling thereat ; being the more troubled, lest his Majesty should think him careless in observing his commands ; and told Mr. Herbert, at the King's coming to St. James's as he was sitting under the great Elm-tree, near Sir Benjamin Ruddier's Lodge in the Park, seeing a considerable military-officer of the army pass towards St. James's, he went to meet him, and demanding of him if he knew his cousin Tom Herbert, that waited on the King ? The officer said he did, and was going to St. James'. The Earl then delivered to him the gold watch that had the alarm, desiring him to give it to Mr. Herbert, to present it to the King. The officer promised the Earl he would immediately do it. My lord (said Mr. Herbert) I have sundry times seen and passed by that officer since, and do assure your lordship he hath not delivered it to me according to your order and his promise, nor said anything to me concerning

it, nor has the King it I am certain. The Earl was very angry and gave the officer his due character, and threatened to question him. But such was the severity of the times, that it was then judged dangerous to reflect upon such a person, being a favourite of the time, so as no notice was taken of it. Nevertheless, Mr. Herbert (at the Earl's desire) acquainted his Majesty therewith, who gave the Earl his thanks, and said, Ah. Had he not told the officer it was for me, it would probably have been delivered ; he well knew how short a time I could enjoy it. This relation is in prosecution of what is formerly mentioned, concerning the clock or alarm watch his Majesty intended to dispose of, as is declared.

That evening, Mr. Seamour (a gentleman then attending the Prince of Wales in his bed-chamber) by Colonel Hacker's[1] permission, came to his Majesty's bed-chamber door, desiring to speak with the King from the Prince of Wales ; being admitted, he presented his Majesty with a letter from his Highness, the Prince of Wales, bearing date from the Hague, the 23rd. day of January, 1648.[2] (old stile). Mr. Seamour, at his entrance, fell into a passion, having

[1] Colonel Francis Hacker seems to have been an able and conscientious soldier. He had charge of the King's person and was present on the scaffold. At his own trial as a regicide he made no defence, merely stating that in his capacity as a soldier he had obeyed orders. He was executed, but his body was allowed decent burial, unlike others of the regicides.

[2] 1649.

formerly seen his Majesty in a glorious state, and now in a dolorous; and having kissed the King's hand, clasped about his legs, lamentably mourning. Hacker came in with the gentleman and was abashed. But so soon as his Majesty had read his son's sorrowing letter,[1] and heard what his servant had say, and imparted to him what his Majesty thought fit to return, the Prince's servant took his leave, and was no sooner gone, but the King went to his devotion, Dr. Juxon praying with him, and reading some select chapters out of the sacred Scripture.

That evening the King took a ring from his finger, and gave it to Mr. Herbert; it had an emerald set between two diamonds, and commanded him, as late as it was, to go with it from St. James's to a lady living then in Channel-Row, on the Backside of King-Street, in Westminster, and give it to her, without saying anything. The night was exceeding

[1] SIR,

Having no means to come to the knowledge of your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the prints or (what is as uncertain) report, I have sent this bearer Seamour, to wait upon your Majesty, and to bring me an account of it; that I may withal assure your Majesty, I do not only pray for your Majesty according to my duty; but shall always be ready to do all which shall be in my power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of your Majesty, upon,

Sir, your Majestie's most humble, and most obedient son and servant,

Hague 23. *Jan.* 1648.[2] CHARLES.

[2] 1649.

dark, and guards set in several places, as the House, garden, park, gates near White-Hall, King-Street, and other where.

Nevertheless, getting the word from Colonel Tomlinson (then there, and in all places wherever he was about the King, so civil, both towards his Majesty, and such as attended him, as gained him the King's good opinion ; and as an evidence thereof, gave him his gold pick-tooth-case, as he was one time walking in the Presence-Chamber) Mr. Herbert passed currently, though in all places where sentinels were, he was bid stand, till the corporals had the word from him. Being arrived at the lady's house, he delivered her the ring ; Sir (said she) give me leave to show you the way into the parlour, where she desired him stay until she returned, which in a little time she did, and gave him a little cabinet which was closed with three seals ; two of them being the King's arms, the third was the figure of a Roman ; praying him to deliver it to the same hand that sent the ring, which was left with her.

The word secured Mr. Herbert's return unto the King.

When the Bishop being but newly gone to his lodging in Sir Henry Hen's house near St. James's gate, his Majesty said to Mr. Herbert, He should see it opened in the morning.

Morning being come, the Bishop was early with

the King, and after prayers his Majesty broke the seals open, and shewed them what was contained in it; there were diamonds and jewels, most part broken Georges and Garters. You see (said he) all the wealth now in my power to give my two children. Next day Princess Elizabeth,[1] and the Duke of Gloucester, her brother, came to take their sad farewell of the King, their father, and to ask his blessing. This was the 29th. of January. The Princess, being the elder, was the most sensible of her royal father's condition, as appeared by her sorrowful look and excessive weeping, and her little brother seeing his sister weep, he took the like impression. though, by reason of his tender age, he could not have the like apprehension. The King raised them both from off their knees; he kissed

[1] Elizabeth, second daughter of Charles I., was born in 1635. From the age of seven her life and that of her little brother, the Duke of Gloucester, was one of seclusion and loneliness in the hands of the Parliament. Elizabeth was a very sensitive and studious girl, and felt her position very keenly. After the parting on January 29th, she was prostrated with grief and, indeed, never recovered from the effects of her father's death. She died at Carisbrook Castle in September, 1650, aged fifteen. The Duke of Gloucester was allowed to go abroad in 1652. He went first to his mother at Paris but, finding that he refused to become a catholic, she turned him out of the Palace. He went then to his brother Charles, whom he accompanied to England at the Restoration, but died of small-pox shortly afterwards. Everybody spoke well of his good qualities.

them, gave them his blessing, and setting them on his knees, admonished them concerning their duty and loyal observance to the Queen their mother, the Prince that was his successor, love to the Duke of York, and his other relations. The King then gave them all his jewels, save the George he wore, which was cut in an onyx with great curiosity, and set about with 21 fair diamonds, and the reverse set with the like number; and again kissing his children, had such pretty and pertinent answers from them both, as drew tears of joy and love from his eyes; and then praying God Almighty to bless 'em, he turned about, expressing a tender and fatherly affection. Most sorrowful was this parting, the young Princess shedding tears and crying lamentably, so as moved others to pity, that formerly were hard-hearted; and at opening the bed-chamber door, the King returned hastily from the window, and kiss'd 'em and bless'd 'em; so parted.[1]

[1] The King bade Princess Elizabeth write down what he said to her and the Duke of Gloucester at this last meeting, lest she should forget it. She wrote as follows:—

What the King said to me the 20th, Jan. 1648,[2] being the last time I had the happiness to see him. He told me, he was glad I had come, and although he had not much time to say much, yet something he had to say to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing; because he feared their cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted him to write to me. He wishes me not to grieve and torment myself for him, for that would be a glorious death that he would dye;

[2] 29th Jan., 1649.

Farewell of Charles I. to Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester.

This demonstration of a pious affection exceedingly comforted the King in this his affliction ;

it being for the laws and liberties of his land, and for maintaining the true Protestant religion. He bid me read Bishop Andrew's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and Bishop Laud's Book against Fisher, which would ground me against Popery.

He told me he had forgiven all his enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also ; and commanded us, and all the rest of my brothers and sisters to forgive them.

He bid me tell my mother that his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his love should be the same to the last. Withal he commanded me and my brother to be obedient to her, and bid me send his blessing to the rest of my brothers and sisters, with commendation to all his friends. So after he had given me his blessing I took my leave.

Further he commanded us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them ; for they had been most false to him, and to those that gave them power, and he feared also, to their own souls ; and desired me not to grieve for him, for he should dye a martyr, and that he doubted not but the Lord would settle his throne upon his son, and that we should be all happier, than we could have expected to have been, if he had lived : with many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

ELIZABETH.

Another relation by the Princess Elizabeth :—

The King said to the Duke of Gloucester, that he would say nothing to him, but what was for the good of his soul ; he told him, That he heard the Army intended to make him King ; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his soul, for he had two brothers before him, and therefore commanded him upon his blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him : And commanded him to fear the Lord, and He would provide for him.

so that in a grateful return he went immediately to prayer, the good Bishop and Mr. Herbert being only present.

It may not be forgotten that Sir Henry Herbert Kt. Master of the Revels, and gentleman in ordinary of his Majesty' honourable Privy Chamber (one that cordially loved and honoured the King his master, and during the war, suffered considerably in his estate by sequestration and otherwise) meeting Mr. Herbert, his kinsman in St. James's Park, first enquired how his Majesty did. He then presented his humble duty to the King, with an assurance that himself and many others of his Majesty's servants fervently prayed for him, and requested that his Majesty would please to read the second chapter of Ecclesiasticus; for he would find comfort in it, aptly suiting his present condition. Accordingly Mr. Herbert soon after acquainted the King therewith, who thanked Sir Henry, and commended him for his excellent parts, being a good scholar, soldier, and an accomplished courtier; and for his many years faithful service much valued by the King. who presently turned to the chapter, and read it with much satisfaction.

That day the Bishop of London after prayers, preached before the King, his text was the second chapter of the Romans, and sixteenth verse; the words are, At that day when God shall judge the

secrets of men By Jesus Christ etc. inferring from thence, that although God's judgments be for some time deferred, he will nevertheless proceed to a strict examination of what is both said and done by every man ; yea, the most hidden things and imaginations of men will most certainly appear at the day of judgment, when the Lord Jesus Christ shall be upon his high tribunal ; all designs, tho' conceal'd in this life, shall then be plainly discovered ; he then proceeded to the present sad occasion, and after that, administered the Sacrament. That day the King eat and drank very sparingly, most part of the day being spent in Prayer and Meditation ; it was some hours after night, e'er Dr. Juxon took leave of the King, who willed him to be early with him the next morning.

CHAPTER XIV

LETTER FROM CHARLES I. TO THE PRINCE OF WALES

Son, if these papers with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my conscience, and my most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages which have been most remarkable, or disputed in my late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed ; they may be so far useful to you, as to state your judgment aright in what hath passed : whereof a pious is the best use that can be made ; and they may also give you some directions, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of my long restraint, when I find my leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of myself, and useful to you, that neither you, nor any other, may hereafter measure my cause by the success; nor my judgments of things by my misfortunes ; which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon you, and some others, whom I have most cause to love as well as myself ; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense than of my own.

But this advantage of wisdom you have above most princes; that you have begun, and now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein piety, and all vertues both moral and political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as trees set in winter, than in warmth and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend princes courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true vertue and honour; or to be contented only with some leaves and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, such as tend to the public good, for which princes should always remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the Holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of David and Rehoboam: the one prepared by many afflictions for a flourishing kingdom; the other softened by the unparallelled prosperity of Solomon's Court; and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as unseperable from prosperous princes, as flies are from fruit in summer; whom adversity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you should be Charles le Bon, than le Grand, good, than great; I hope God hath designed you to be both; having so early put you

into that exercise of his Graces and gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vitious inclinations, and dispose you to those princely indowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place you. With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings ; the sovereign disposer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down one and setteth up another.

The best government, and highest sovereignty you can attain to, is, to be subject to him ; that the Scepter of his word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing God's glory, in the maintenance of true religion, and the Churches good ; also in the dispensation of civil power, with Justice and honour to the public peace.

Piety will make you prosperous ; at least it will keep you from being miserable ; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which center of true happiness, God (I trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that cup whereof I have liberally drunk ; which I look upon as God's physick, having that in healthfulness which it wants in pleasure.

Above all I would have you, as I hope you are already, well-grounded and settled in your religion : the best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of the Church of England, in which you have been educated ; yet I would have your own judgment and reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written ; that it may be judiciously your own religion, and not other mens custom or tradition which you profess.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to God's word for doctrine, and to the primitive examples for government, with some little amendment, which I have otherwise expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of religion will not be more necessary for your souls, than your kingdom's peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the Devil of rebellion doth commonly turn himself into an angel of reformation ; and the old serpent can pretend new light : when some mens consciences accuse them for sedition and faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of religion ; when piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out zeal.

So that, unless in this point you be well settled, you shall never want temptations to destroy you and yours, under pretension of reforming matters of religion, for that seems even to the worst of men, as

the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the novelty which is taken enough with the vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward reformation of religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious, by a severity of censuring other mens opinions and actions.

Take heed of abbetting any factions, or applying to any public discriminations in matters of religion, contrary to what is in your judgment, and the Churches well settled; your partial adhering as head to any one side, gains you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their king's religion) as it loseth you in others; who think themselves and their profession first despised, then persecuted by you: take such a course as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality; or so order affairs in point of power that you shall not need to fear or flatter any faction.

For, if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesy, you are undone: the serpent will devour the dove: you may never expect less of loyalty, justice, or humanity, than from those who engage into religious rebellion; their interest is always made God's; under the colours of piety,

ambitious policies march, nor only with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy ; you may hear from them Jacob's voice, but you shall feel they have Esau's hands. Nothing seemed less considerable than the Presbyterian faction in England for many years, so compliant they were to public order ; nor indeed was their party great either in Church or State, as to mens judgments ; but as soon as discontents drave men into sidings, as ill humours fall to the disaffected part, which causes inflammations, so did all at first, who affected any novelties, adhere to that side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of religion.

All the lesser factions at first were officious servants to Presbytery, their great master : till time and military success, discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes : and leaving the joint stock of uniform religion, they pretended each to drive for their party the trade of profits and preferments to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church and State ; but even of Presbytery itself, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concern religion and the Churches peace, so as to neglect as speedy reforming and effectual suppressing errors and schisms : what

seem at first but as a hand breadth, by seditious spirits, as by strong winds, are soon made to cover and darken the whole heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your own soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in religion; the main hinge upon which your prosperity will depend, and move, is that of civil justice, wherein the settled laws of these kingdoms, to which you are rightly heir, are the most excellent rules you can govern by, which by an admirable temperament give very much to subjects industry, liberty, and happiness: and yet reserve enough to the majesty and prerogative of any king, who owns his people as subjects, not as slaves; whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace and safety, so it will never diminish your rights, nor their ingenious liberties: which consist in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your head with such a crown, as shall by its heaviness oppress the whole body, the weakness of whose parts cannot return anything of strength, honour, or safety to the head, but a necessary debilitation and ruin.

Your prerogative is best shewed and exercised in remitting, rather than exacting the rigor of the Laws; there being nothing worse than legal tyranny.

In these two points, the preservation of established religion and laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my sufferings, as to the world's censure, into the honour of a kind of martyrdom, as to the testimony of my own conscience; the troublers of my kingdoms, having nothing else to object against me but this, that I prefer religion and laws established before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used against me, tumults, armies and prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, that it is safe for a King to gratify any faction with the perturbation of the laws, in which is wrapt up the public interest, and the good of the community.

How God will deal with me, as to the removal of these pressures and indignities, which his justice, by the very unjust hands of some of my subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon me, I cannot tell; nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in my soul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for reformation and safety, that in reason, honour and conscience I can; reserving only what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to my own soul, the Church

and my people; and you also as the next and undoubted heir of my kingdoms.

To which if the divine providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time, after my decease bring you, as I hope he will, my counsel and charge to you is, that you seriously consider the former real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion my troubles, that you may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any man's single counsel, fidelitie and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of religion and justice) as to create in yourself or others, a diffidence of your own judgment, which is likely to be always more constant and impartial to the interests of your crown and kingdom than any man's.[1]

Next, beware of exasperating any factions by the crossness and asperity of some men's passions, humours, or private opinions employed by you, grounded only upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of religion.

Wherein a charitable connivance and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed party into such combinations, as

[1] This is very significant in view of Charles's domination by Buckingham, Strafford and Laud successively.

may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their persecutors who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of laws and government, or religion established, as to the essentials of them: Such motions and minings are intolerable.

Always keep up solid piety, and those fundamental truths, which mend both hearts and lives of men with impartial favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but, with an equal eye, and impartial hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their real goodness both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gain you the hearts of the best and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer ways of virtue at any time sweetened by temporal rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different and opposite factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those that act not in any conformity to the laws established in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they call their

common enemie, (that is, all those that adhered to the laws, and to me) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first antagonist.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious designs shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and hidden pretensions of religion, reformation and liberty; as the wolf is not less cruel, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better than a wolf under sheep's clothing.

But as for the seduced train of the vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises, my charge and counsel to you is, that, as you need no palliations for any designs, (as other men) so you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodness, piety, and vertue towards the people) even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentations of religion: so you shall neither fear any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodness) nor shall you frustrate the just expectations of your people; who cannot in reason promise themselves so much good from any subjects novelties, as from the virtuous constancy of their king.

When these mountains of congealed factions shall

by the sunshine of God's mercy, and the splendour of your virtues be thawed and dissipated; and the abused vulgar shall have learned, that none are greater oppressors of their estates, liberties, and consciences than those men, that entitle themselves the patrons and vindicators of them, only to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betray you to any study of revenge upon those, whose own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of factions emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts and clemency to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered acts of Indemnity and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any ways obnoxious to the laws; and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

I would have you always propense to the same way; whenever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an act of state policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive those that have deprived me of all; and I thank God I have a heart to do it: and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of God's love to me, than any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amiss, have done so, not out of malice, but misinformation, or misapprehension of things.

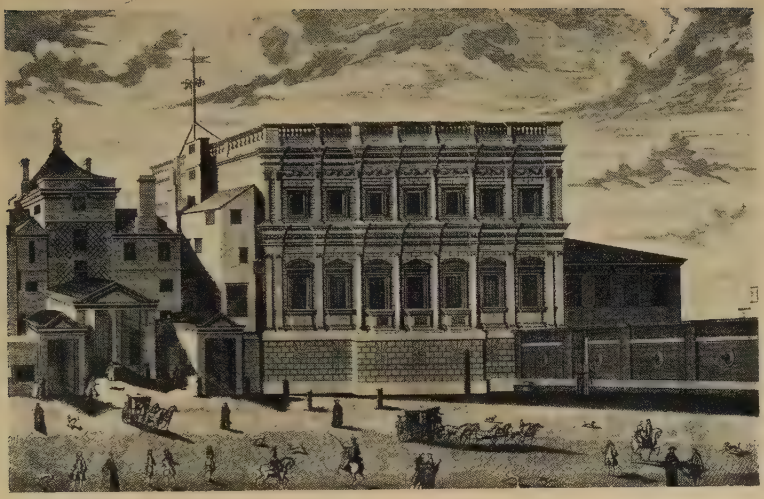
None will be more loyal and faithful to me and you, than those subjects, who sensible of their errors, and our injuries, will feel in their own souls most vehement motives to repentance ; and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As your quality sets you beyond any duel with any subject ; so the nobleness of your mind must raise you above the meditating any revenge or executing your anger upon the many.

The more conscious you shall be to your own merits, upon your people ; the more prone you will be to expect all love and loyalty from them ; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages ; you will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of God's mercy, and my subjects affections towards you, both which I hope, you will study to deserve ; yet we cannot merit of God but by his own mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore me, and you after me, to those enjoyments which the laws have assigned to us ; and no subjects without a high degree of guilt and sin can devest us of ; then may I have better opportunity when I shall be so happy to see



His Majesty's royal banqueting house of Whitehall, London, 1713.

you in peace, to let you more fully understand the things that belong to God's glory, your own honour, and the kingdom's peace.

But if you never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous imprisonment and obscurity (which the perfecting some mens designs requires) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with me, I do require and entreat you as your father and your king, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true religion established in the Church of England.

I tell you I have tried it, and after much search, and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not only in the Community as Christian, but as also in the special notion, as reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious tyranny, and the meanness of fantastick anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for doctrine and government in the Church of England) some lines, as in very good figures, may happily need some sweetening or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand, if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late troubles, which some may object and urge to you against the Protestant religion established in England, is easily answered to them, or your own thoughts in this, that scarce any one who hath been a beginner, or an active prosecutor of this late war against the Church, the Laws, and me, either was, or is, a true lover, embracer, or practiser of the protestant religion, established in England, which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldness to present threatening petitions to their princes and Parliaments, which others of the same faction (but of worse spirits) have now put in execution : but let not counterfeit and disorderly zeal abate your value and esteem of true piety ; both of them are to be known by their fruits ; the sweetness of vine and fig-tree is not to be despised, though the brambles and thorns should pretend to bear figs and grapes, thereby to rule over the trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any aversation, or dislike of Parliaments ; which in their right constitution with freedom and honour will never injure or diminish your greatness, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince and his people.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than such (however much biassed

by factions in the elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions; the sad effects of which, will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that freedom and honour, which belongs to such assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the public interest consists in the mutual and common good both of Prince and people.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave, and honourable ways, to contribute their counsels in common, enacting all things by public consent, without tyranny and or tumults. We must not starve ourselves, because some have surfeited of wholesome food.

And if neither I, nor you be ever restored to our right, but God, in his severest justice, will punish my subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickedness; I hope God will give me and you, that grace which will teach and enable us, to want, as well as to wear a crown; which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, vertue and honour; you shall never want a kingdom.

A principal point of your honour will consist

in your deferring all respect, love and protection to your mother, my wife, who hath many ways deserved well of me, and chiefly in this, that having been a means to bless me with so many hopeful children; (all which, with their mother, I recommend to your love and care) she hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to suffer both for, and with me and you.

My prayer to Almighty God is, (whatever becomes of me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in my own innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleased to make you an anchor, or harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten kingdoms; a repairer by your wisdom, justice, piety, valour, of what the folly and wickedness of some men have so far ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons. either as to laws, liberties, estates, order, honour, conscience, or lives.

When they have destroyed me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of my enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some men's words and actions have already given me) as I doubt not but my blood will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven; so I beseech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the people who have either deserted me, or engaged against me, through the artifice and hypocrisie of their leaders, whose

inward horrour will be their first tormentor; nor will they escape exemplary judgments.

For those that loved me, I pray God they may have no miss of me, when I am gon; so much I wish and hope, that all good subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and vertues.

For those that repent of any defects of their duty towards me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King; so I believe you will find them truly zealous, to repay, with interest, that loyalty and love to you, which was due to me.

In sum, what good I intended, do you perform, when God shall give you power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the vizards will fall off apace; This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears since my restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend you, wherein your subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, That religion to their God, and loyalty to their King, cannot be parted, without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God bless you and establish your Kingdoms in righteousness, your soul in true religion,

and your honour in the love of God and your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by my destruction, let my memory ever, with my name, live in you ; as of your father, that loves you, and once a King of three flourishing kingdoms ; whom God thought fit to honour, not only with the scepter and government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities and an untimely death for them ; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honour of my Crown, the privilege of Parliaments, the liberties of my people and my own conscience, which I thank God, is dearer to me, than a thousand kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he will restore me to my rights ; I cannot dispair either of his mercy, or my peoples love and pitty.

At worst I trust I shall but go before you, to a better kingdom, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercy I commend you, and all mine. Farewell, till we meet, if not on earth, yet in heaven.

CHAPTER XV

SIR THOMAS HERBERT'S NARRATIVE, CONTINUED

THAT night after which sentence was pronounced in Westminster-Hall. Colonel Hacker (who then commanded the guards about the King) would have placed two musqueteers in the King's bed-chamber, which his Majesty being acquainted with, he made no reply, only gave a sigh ; howbeit the good Bishop and Mr. Herbert, apprehending the horrour of it, and disturbance it would give the King in his meditations and preparations for his departure out of this uncomfortable world ; also representing the barbarousness of such an act, they never left the Colonel till he reversed his order by withdrawing these men.

After the Bishop was gone to his lodging, the King continued reading and praying more than two hours after. The King commanded Mr. Herbert to lie by his bed-side upon a pallat, where he took small rest, that being the last night his gracious sovereign and master enjoyed ; but nevertheless, the King, for four hours or thereabouts, slept soundly, and awaking about two hours afore day, he opened his curtain to call Mr. Herbert, there being

a great cake of wax set in a silver bason, that then, as at all other times, burned all night; so that he perceived him somewhat disturbed in sleep; but calling him bad him rise; For (said his Majesty) I will get up, having a great work to do this day; however he would know why he was so troubled in his sleep? He replied, May it please your Majesty, I was dreaming. I would know your dream, said the King, which being told, his Majesty said, It was remarkable. Herbert, this is my second marriage-day; I would be as trim today as may be; for before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus. He then appointed what clothes he would wear; Let me have a shirt on more than ordinary, said the King, by reason the season is so sharp as probably may make me shake, which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not Death. Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared.

These, or words to this effect, his Majesty spoke to Mr. Herbert, as he was making ready. Soon after came Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, precisely at the time his Majesty the night before had appointed him. Mr. Herbert then falling upon his knees, humbly begged his Majesty's pardon, if he had at any time been negligent in his duty, whilst he had the honour to serve him. The King thereupon gave him his hand to kiss, having the day before been

graciously pleased, under his royal hand, to give him a certificate, expressing, that the said Mr. Herbert was not imposed upon him, but by his Majesty made choice of to attend him in his bed-chamber, and had served him with faithfulness and loyal affection. At the same time his Majesty also delivered him his Bible, in the margin whereof he had with his own hand writ many annotations and quotations, and charged him to give it the Prince so soon as he returned; repeating what he had enjoined the Princess Elizabeth, his daughter, That he would be dutiful and indulgent to the Queen his mother (to whom his Majesty writ two days before by Mr. Seymour) affectionate to his brothers and sisters; who also were to be observant and dutiful to him their sovereign; and for as much as from his heart he had forgiven his enemies, and in perfect charity with all men would leave the world, he had advised the Prince his son to exceed in mercy, not in rigour; and, as to Episcopacy, it was still his opinion, That it is of apostolique institution, and in this kingdom exercised from the primitive-times, and therein, as in all other his affairs, prayed God to vouchsafe him, both in reference to Church and State, a pious and a discerning spirit; and that it was his last and earnest request, that he would frequently read the Bible, which in all the time of his affliction had been his best instructer and delight;

and to meditate upon what he read; as also such other books as might improve his knowledge. He likewise commanded Mr. Herbert to give his son, the Duke of York, his large ring Sundial of silver, a jewel his Majesty much valued it was invented and made by Mr. Delamaine, an able mathematician, who projected it, and in a little printed book shewed it's excellent use, in resolving many questions in arithmetick, and other rare operations to be wrought by it in Mathematicks. To the Princess Elizabeth Doctor Andrews's *Sermons* (he was prelate of the most noble order of the Garter, as he was Bishop of Winchester.), Archbishop Laud against Fisher the Jesuit, which book (the King said) would ground her against Popery, and Mr. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. To the Duke of Gloucester King James's Works, and Dr. Hammond's *Practical Chatechism*. *Cassandra* to the Earl of Lindsay, the Lord High-Chamberlain, and his gold watch to the Dutchess of Richmond. All which, as opportunity served, Mr. Herbert delivered.

His Majesty then bade him withdraw; for he was about an hour in private with the Bishop; and being called in, the Bishop went to prayer; and reading also the 27th Chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, which related the passion of our Blessed Saviour. The King, after the service was done, asked the Bishop, If he had made a choice

of that chapter, being so applicable to his present condition? The Bishop replied, May it please your gracious Majesty, it is the proper lesson for the day, as appears by the Kalendar; which the King was much affected with, so aptly serving as a seasonable preparation for his death that day.

So as his Majesty, abandoning all thoughts of earthly concerns, continued in prayer and meditation, and concluded with a cheerful submission to the Will and pleasure of the Almighty, saying, He was ready to resign himself into the hands of Jesus Christ, being, with the Kingly Prophet, shut up in the hands of his enemies; as is expressed in the 31st Psalm, and the 8th verse.

Colonel Hacker then knocked easily at the King's chamber door. Mr. Herbert being within, would not stir to ask who it was; but knocking the second time a little louder, the King bade him go to the door. He guessed his business. So Mr. Herbert demanding, wherefore he knocked? The Colonel said, He would speak with the King. The King said Let him come in. The Colonel in trembling manner came near, and told his Majesty, It was time to go to White-Hall, where he might have some further time to rest. The King bade him go forth, he would come presently. Some time his Majesty was private, and afterwards taking the good Bishop by the hand, looking upon him with a cheerful

countenance, he said, Come let us go ; and bidding Mr. Herbert take with him the silver clock that hung by the bedside, said, Open the door, Hacker has given us a second warning. Through the garden the King passed into the Park, where making a stand, he asked Mr. Herbert the hour of the day ; and taking the clock into his hand gave it him, and bade him keep it in memory of him ; which Mr. Herbert keeps accordingly.

The Park had several companies of foot drawn up, who made a guard on either side as the King passed, and a guard of halberdiers in company went, some before, and other some followed ; the drums beat, and the noise was so great as one could hardly hear what another spoke.

Upon the King's right hand went the Bishop, and Colonel Tomlinson on his left, with whom his Majesty had some discourse upon the way ; Mr. Herbert was next the King ; after him the guards. In this manner went the King through the Park ; and coming to the stair, the King passed along the galleries unto his bed-chamber, where, after a little repose, the Bishop went to prayer ; which being done, his Majesty bid Mr. Herbert bring him some bread and wine, which being brought, the King broke the manchet, and eat a mouthful of it, and drank a small glassful of claret-wine, and then was sometime in private with the Bishop, expecting when Hacker

would the third and last time give warning. Meantime his Majesty told Mr. Herbert which satin night-cap he would use, which being provided, and the King at private prayer, Mr. Herbert addressed himself to the Bishop, and told him, The King had ordered him to have a white satin night-cap ready, but was not able to endure the sight of that violence they upon the scaffold would offer the King. The good Bishop bid him then give him the cap, and wait at the end of the banqueting-house, near the scaffold, to take care of the King's body; for (said he) that, and his interment, will be our last office.

Colonel Hacker came soon after to the bed-chamber door, and gave his last signal; the Bishop and Mr. Herbert. weeping, fell upon their knees and the King gave them his hand to kiss, and helped the Bishop up, for he was aged.

Colonel Hacker attending still at the chamber-door, the King took notice of it, and said, open the door, and bade Hacker go, he would follow. A guard was made all along the galleries and the banqueting-house; but behind the soldiers abundance of men and women crowded in, though with some peril to their persons, to behold the saddest sight England ever saw. And as his Majesty passed by, with a cheerful look, heard them pray for him, the soldiers not rebuking any of them; by their silence and dejected faces seeming afflicted

rather than insulting. There was a passage broken through the wall, by which the King passed unto the scaffold where, after his Majesty had spoken a little, the fatal stroke was given by a disguised person.

THE KING'S SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD[1]

The scaffold being surrounded with lines of soldiers so that Charles perceived that he had no hope of making himself heard by the people, who were kept at a distance, he addressed himself to the soldiers and officers nearest to him with his gaze fixed particularly upon Colonel Tomlinson.

I would not now speak nothing unto you in this place, were it not that some men would interpret my silence as an argument of guilt, and think that I took on me the crimes objected, with the same conscience, as I submit to the punishment with patience. I call God to witness of my innocency (before whose tribunal I must shortly appear) it never entered into my thoughts to retrench the just privileges of Parliament; and that I raised not any army before such time as they had raised hostile forces against me, which from the order of proceedings on both sides, and dates of Commissions

[1] On the scaffold Charles gave copies of this speech to Col. Tomlinson, the officer in charge of the execution, and to Dr. Juxon. Dr. Juxon's copy, however was taken from him before he left the scaffold.

B. Picard, Inven. *Ch. Mascart, Sculp.*

The beheading at Whitehall, showing the correct height of the block and position of the King.

and proclamations will be clearly manifested to the enquirer.

Meanwhile I acknowledge, and submissly own, God's justice, which this day (by an unjust sentence of mine) he hath inflicted a just judgment on me, for as much as heretofore I would not acquit an innocent man[1] when oppressed by a most unjust decree.

With what charity I embrace my enraged enemies, this good man is my witness, (pointing to the Bishop of London). I pardon them all from my very heart, and I earnestly beseech the God of all mercies, that he would vouchsafe to grant them serious repentance, and remit this great sin.

Yet, I cannot to my last gasp but be sollicitous of the Peace of my Kingdom, which I am not able at present better to consult for, than by chalking out the way, from which you of the soldiery have exceedingly deviated, and by which you must return to sobriety and peace.

Herein I perceive you are most miserably out of the way, in that by the title of the sword, without all, even a shadow of right, you think good to wrest the government to yourselves, and endeavour to establish the Kingdom, not by the authority of the Laws, but upon the score of conquest, which can never have any accruit of right, unless ushered in by a just

[1] Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.

cause, and triumph of war ; namely, either for the repulsing of wrongs, or recovering of rights unjustly retained.

But if more prosperous success shall advance the victor, beyond the modest bounds of just and lawful, nought hinders, but that the kingdoms that are erected, both be, and be accounted great robberies, which we read heretofore a pirate objected to Alexander.

But being out of the way (as you are) can you by no other expedient return into the right path of peace ? By no other counsel (believe me) can you hope to divert God's wrath, than by restoring to God, the King, the People respectively, such things as are their dues : you shall give God his due, by restoring his pure worship, and Church rightly regulated, according to the prescript of his word, which has long since been miserably convulst and disjointed. And this a national synod duly called, and freely debating, will best effectuate. To the King (namely my successor) you will render full right, if you restore those things which by the clear letter of the law stands expressed.

Lastly, you will put the people in their rights and due liberties, not by lifting them in the consort of the throne and sway of the scepter, but by recovering unto the laws their authority, and the peoples observance ; to the abrogating of which by

the enormous power of the sword, when as by no means I could be induced, I was brought hither to undergoe a Martyrdom for my people.

Here the King ceased speaking and the Bishop, prompting him, urged that (if his most excellent Majesty pleased) he would openly profess what he thought touching his religion.

Thereupon the King said, That he deposited the testimony of his faith with the holy man (meaning the Bishop) or else expected defence on this behalf of all men who well knew his life and profession, namely that I dye in the Christian faith, according to the profession of the Church of England, as the same was left me by my Father of most blessed memory.

He then turned again to the Officers. Having (said he) a most gracious God, and most just cause, that I shall by and by change this Corruptible Crown for an Immarcessible one, I both trust and exult, and that I shall depart hence into another Kingdom, altogether exempt and free from all manner of disturbance. The Bishop then put the King's night-cap on his head and unclothed him to his Sky-colour Satin waist-coat.

The King repeated the words, I have a good cause, and a gracious God: then taking off his

George order, handed it to the Bishop, saying 'Remember!'[1]

There is but one stage more sir (said the Bishop) This is a turbulent and troublesome and but a short one, but it will soon dismiss you to a way further, even from Earth to Heaven, there you are assured of Joy and Comfort.

I go, said the King, from a Corruptible, to an Incorruptible Crown where no disturbance can be, but Peace and Joy for evermore.

After a moment's silent prayer, he laid his head upon the block. It was severed at one blow by the vizarded executioner.[2] The time

[1] The King had charged the Bishop with many messages to his friends and family, and had asked him to convey his "George" to the Prince of Wales. Bishop Juxon was very closely cross-examined as to what the King meant by the word "Remember" but his questioners gained no information.

[2] In 1660 a certain William Hulet was brought to trial, suspected of being one of the two disguised men who were on the scaffold, one of whom held up the King's head to the gaze of the people after the other had cut it off. The chief witness was a man Gittens who had been a fellow-soldier of Hulet's. In his evidence he stated "that he and Hulet were both sergeants in the same regiment at the time of the execution. A day or two before the King came to the scaffold about thirty-eight of them were sworn to secrecy by Colonel Hewson, and they were all asked if they would behead the King for a hundred pounds and a promise of preferment in the Army. They all refused. At the time of the execution the greater part of the regiment was on duty on guard in Scotland Yard and part in

being two o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, January 30th.

the Banqueting-Chamber and on the Scaffold. Gittens was with the former part, but managed to get near the scaffold before the execution began. He recognised one of the disguised men to be Hulet by his voice, Hulet (as far as I can guess), when the King came on the scaffold for his execution, and said, Executioner, is the block fast ? fell on his knees.

Counsel.—Who did ?

Gittens.—Hulet, to ask him forgiveness ; by his speech I thought it he. Captain Atkins said, who would not undertake to do this fact ? I told him I would not do it for all the City of London ; no, nor I neither for all the world, saith Atkins ; You shall see Hulet quickly come to preferment ; and presently after he was made Captain-Lieutenant.

Counsel.—Was he with his regiment that day ?

Gittens.—We could not see him with the regiment all that day ; he was never absent at any time before.

Counsel.—Did you know his voice ?

Gittens.—Yes Sir. He had a pair of freeze trunk breeches, and a vizor, with a grey beard ; and after that time Colonel Hewson called him ' Father Greybeard ' and most of the army besides, he cannot deny it.

Another soldier called Toogood who lived near Hulet in Ireland, also gave evidence. Meeting Hulet at the White Horse in Carlow, he asked him if he were the man that cut off the King's head or not. Saith he, Why do you ask me this question ? I told him I had heard so by several, namely by Hewson and Pretty ; upon that he said, " Well, what I did I will not be ashamed of ; if it were to do again I would do it." Once since that time, about half a year afterwards, I was in the same place, and there talking about the King's death, he was telling me it was true, he was one of the two persons that were disguised upon the scaffold. I desired to know what if

CHARACTER OF CHARLES I.

But it will not be unnecessary to add a short character of his person,[1] that posterity may know the inestimable loss which the nation then underwent, in being deprived of a prince, whose example would have had a greater influence upon the manners and piety of the nation, than the most strict laws can have.

To speak first of his private qualifications as a

the King had refused to submit to the block? saith he, there were staples placed about the scaffold, and I had that about me that would have compelled him, or words to that effect; other times I have heard him speak something to this . . . I have observed in Ireland, that it hath been generally reported that he was either the man that cut off the King's head or he that held it up, as I said before, and I have heard them sometimes call him Grandsire Greybeard.

Walter Davis gave evidence—said I to Hulet, I pray resolve me this one question; it is reported that you took up the King's head, and said, Behold the head of a traitor; Sir, said he, it is a question I never yet resolved any man, though often demanded; yet, saith he, whosoever said it, it matters not, I say it now; it was the head of a traitor.

Many others gave similar evidence and Hulet was found guilty and sentenced to death, but was afterwards reprieved. The actual blow was given by George Brandon, the hangman, also in disguise, but it seems certain that Hulet was his companion on the scaffold.

[1] From Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion.*

man, before the mention of his princely and royal virtues ; he was, if ever any, the most worthy of the title of an honest man ; so great a lover of justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him that he believed it to be just. He had a tenderness and compassion of nature, which restrained him from ever doing a hardhearted thing : and therefore he was so apt to grant pardon to malefactors, that the judges of the land represented to him the damage and insecurity to the public, that flowed from such his indulgence. And then he restrained himself from pardoning either murders or highway robberies, and quickly discerned the fruits of his severities by a wonderful reformation of those enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his devotions ; he was never known to enter upon his recreations or sports, though never so early in the morning, before he had been at public prayers, so that on hunting days his chaplains were bound to a very early attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private cabinet devotions ; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of religion, that he could never endure any light or profane word, with what sharpness of wit soever it was covered : and though he was well pleased and delighted with reading verses made upon any occasion, no man durst bring before him any thing

that was profane or unclean. That kind of wit had never any countenance then. He was so great an example of conjugal affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular, durst not brag of their liberty: and he did not only permit but direct his bishops to prosecute those scandalous vices, in the ecclesiastical courts, against persons of eminence, and near relation to his service.

His kingly virtues had some mixture and allay, that hindered them from shining in full lustre, and from producing those fruits they should have been attended with. He was not in his nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. This appeared more after the Duke of Buckingham's death, after which those showers fell very rarely; and he paused too long in giving, which made those to whom he gave, less sensible of the benefit. He kept state to the full, which made his court very orderly; no man presuming to be seen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He saw and observed men long, before he received them about his person, and did not love strangers, nor very confident men. He was a patient hearer of cases; which he frequently accustomed himself to at the council board; and judged very well, and was dexterous in the mediating part: so that he often put an end to causes by persuasion, which the stubbornness of men's humours made dilatory in courts of justice.

He was very fearless in his person; but, in his riper years not very enterprising. He had an excellent understanding, but was not confident enough of it; which made him oftentimes change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of men that did not judge so well as himself. This made him more irresolute than the conjuncture of his affairs would admit: if he had been of a rougher and more imperious nature, he would have found more respect and duty. And his not applying some severe cures to approaching evils proceeded from the lenity of his nature, and the tenderness of his conscience, which, in all cases of blood, made him choose the softer way, and not hearken to severe counsels, how reasonably soever urged. This only restrained him from pursuing his advantage in the first Scottish expedition, when, humanly speaking, he might have reduced that nation to the most entire obedience that could have been wished. But no man can say he had then many who advised him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indisposition all his council had to the war, or any other fatigue. He was always a great lover of the Scottish nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that people, and beseiged by them always, having few English about him till he was King; and the major number of his servants being still of that nation, who he thought could never fail him. And

among these, no man had such an ascendant over him, by the humblest insinuations, as Duke Hamilton had.

As he excelled in all other virtues, so in temperance he was so strict, that he abhorred all debauchery to that degree, that, at a great festival solemnity, where he once was, when very many of the nobility of the English and Scots were entertained, being told by one who withdrew from thence, what vast draughts of wine they drank, and 'that there was one Earl, who had drank most of the rest down, and was not himself moved or altered,' the King said 'that he deserved to be hanged;' and that Earl coming shortly after into the room where his Majesty was, in some gayety, to show how unhurt he was from that battle, the King sent one to bid him with draw from his Majesty's presence; nor did he in some days after appear before him.

So many miraculous circumstances contributed to his ruin, that men may well think that heaven and earth conspired it. Though he was, from the first declension of his power, so much betrayed by his own servants, that there were very few who remained faithful to him, yet that treachery proceeded not always from any treasonable purpose to do him any harm, but from particular and personal animosities against other men. And, afterwards, the terror all men were under of the

Parliament, and the guilt they were conscious of themselves, made them watch all opportunities to make themselves gracious to those who could do them good; and so they became spies upon their master, and from one piece of knavery were hardened and confirmed to undertake another; till at last they had no hope of preservation but by the destruction of their master. And after all this, when a man might reasonably believe that less than a universal defection of three nations could not have reduced a great king to so ugly a fate, it is most certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly murdered in the sight of the sun, he had as great a share in the hearts and affections of his subjects in general, was as much beloved, esteemed, and longed for by the people in general of the three nations, as any of his predecessors had ever been. To conclude he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived produced. And if he were not the greatest king, if he were without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice.

A DESCRIPTION OF CHARLES I.

He was a person, though born sickly, yet who came, through temperance and exercise, to have as firm and strong a body as most persons I ever knew[1]; and throughout all the fatigues of the war, or during his imprisonment, never sick. His appetite was for plain meats; and though he took a good quantity thereof, yet it was suitable to an easy digestion. He seldom eat of above three dishes at most, nor drank above thrice; a glass of small beer, another of claret wine, and the last of water. He eat suppers as well as dinners heartily; but betwixt meals he never meddled with anything. Fruit he would eat plentifully; and with this regularity, he moved as steadily as a star follows it's course.

His deportment was very majestic; for he would not let fall his dignity, no not to the greatest foreigners that came to visit him and his court: for though he was far from pride, yet he was careful of Majesty, and would be approached with respect and reverence. His conversation was free; and the subject matter of it, on his own side of the court, was most commonly rational; or if facetious, not light.

[1] Warwick's *Memoirs*.

With any artist or good mechanic, traveller, or scholar, he would discourse freely; and as he was commonly improved by them, so he often gave light to them in their own art and knowledge: for there were few gentlemen in the world that knew more of useful or necessary learning than this prince did; and yet his proportion of books was but small, having, like Francis the First of France, learnt more by the ear than by study. His way of arguing was very civil and patient; for he never contradicted another by his authority, but by his reason; nor did he by petulant dislike quash another's arguments; and he offered his exception by this civil introduction, By your favour, Sir, I think otherwise, on this or that ground; yet he would discountenance any bold or forward address unto him.

And in suits, or discourses of business, he would give way to none abruptly to enter into them, but looked that the greatest persons should in affairs of this nature address to him by his proper ministers, or by some solemn desire of speaking to him in their own persons.

His exercises were manly, for he rid the great horse very well; and on the little saddle he was not only adroit, but a laborious hunter, or field-man. He had a great plainness in his own nature, and yet he was thought, even by his friends, to love too

much a versatile man; but his experience had thoroughly weaned him from this at last.[1]

He kept up the dignity of his court, limiting persons to places suitable to their qualities, unless he particularly called for them. Besides the women who attended on his beloved Queen and Consort, the Lady Henrietta Maria, sister of the French King, he scarce admitted any great officer to have his wife in the family.

His exercises of religion were most exemplerary; for every morning early, and evening, not very late, singly and alone, in his own bed-chamber, or closet, he spent some time in private meditation, (for he dared reflect, and be alone), and through the whole week, even when he went to hunt, he never failed, before he sat down to dinner, to have part of the Liturgy read to him and his menial servants, came he ever so hungry or late in: and on Sundays and Tuesdays he came, commonly at the beginning of the service, well attended by his court lords and chief attendants, and most usually waited on by many of the nobility of the town, who found those observances acceptably entertained by him. His greatest enemies can deny none of this; and a man of this moderation of mind could have no hungry appetite to prey upon his subjects, though he had a greatness of mind not to live precariously by

[1] The reference is to Buckingham.

them. But when he fell into the sharpness of his afflictions, (than which few men underwent sharper,) I dare say I know it, (I am sure conscientiously I say it) though God dealt with him, as he did with St. Paul, not remove the thorn, yet he made his grace sufficient to take away the pungency of it; for he made as sanctified an use of his afflictions as most men ever did.

As an evidence of his natural probity, whenever any young nobleman or gentleman of quality, who was going to travel, came to kiss his hand, he cheerfully would give them some good counsel leading to moral virtue, especially to good conversation; telling them, that if he heard they kept good company abroad, he should reasonably expect they would return qualified to serve their King and Country well at home; and he was careful to keep the youth in his time uncorrupted.

The King's deportment at his trial, which began on Saturday the 20th of January, 1648,[1] was very majestic and steady; and though usually his tongue hesitated, yet at this time it was free, for he was never discomposed in mind: and yet, as he confessed himself to Bishop Juxon, who attended him, one action shocked him very much; for whilst he was leaning in the court on his staff, which had a head of gold, the head broke off on a sudden: he

[1] 1649.

took it up, but seemed unconcerned; he told the Bishop, it really made a great impression on him; and to this hour (says he) I know not possibly how it should come. It was an accident I myself have often thought on, and cannot imagine how it came about; unless Hugh Peters,[1] who was truly and really his gaoler, for at St. James's nobody went to him but by Peters's leave, had artificially tampered upon his staff. But such conjectures are of no use.

His speech on the scaffold to the people was very worthy of himself. This part of it became his great wisdom, when he told them, they mistook the nature of government, not by being sharers in it, but by the due administration of the laws of it. After having prayed with the Bishop, and by himself, he submitted cheerfully unto the providence that was dispensed unto him: but he took notice of some engines his murderers had made, that in case he would not willingly submit, they might by violence have pulled him down; at which he smiled, as if he had been contented that they shewed the barbarity of their natures, and he the equanimity of his own. At last he laid down his head, stretched out his hand as a sign, and the executioner let drop the hatchet, which severed it from the body January 30, 1648.[2]

[1] See note on page 56.

[2] 1649.

CHAPTER XVI

SIR THOMAS HERBERT'S NARRATIVE, CONCLUDED

MR. HERBERT, during this, was at the door lamenting; and the Bishop coming thence with the royal corps, which was immediately coffined, and covered with a black velvet pall; he and Mr. Herbert went with it to the back'stairs to be embalmed. Mean time they went into the Long-Gallery, where chancing to meet the General,[1] he asked Mr. Herbert, how the King did. Which he thought strange (it seems thereby that the General knew not what had passed, being all that morning (as indeed at other times) using his power and interest to have the execution deferred for some days, forbearing his coming among the officers, and fully resolved, with his own regiment, to prevent the execution, or have it deferred till he could make a party in the army to second his design; but being with the officers of the army then at prayer, or discourse in Colonel Harrison's apartment (being a room at the hither end of that gallery looking towards the Privy-garden). His question being answered, the General seemed much surprised; and walking further in the

[1] Fairfax.

gallery, they were met by another great commander, Cromwell, who knew what had so lately passed; for he told them, they should have orders for the King's burial speedily.

The royal corps being embalmed and coffined, and those wrapt in lead, and covered with a new velvet pall, was removed to the King's house at St. James's, where was great pressing by all sorts of people to see the King, or where he was: A doleful spectacle. but few had leave to enter and behold it.

Where to bury the King was the last duty remaining. By some historians it's said, that the King spoke something to the Bishop concerning his burial.

Mr. Herbert, both before and after the King's death, was frequently in company with the Bishop, and affirms, that the Bishop never mentioned anything to him of the King's naming any place where he would be buried; nor did Mr. Herbert (who constantly attended his Majesty, and (after his coming from Hurst-Castle) alone in his bed-chamber) hear him at any time declare his mind concerning it; nor was it in his lifetime a proper question for either of them to ask, albeit they had oftentimes the opportunity, especially when his Majesty was bequeathing to his royal children and friends what is formerly related. Nor did the Bishop declare anything concerning the place to

Mr. Herbert, which doubtless he would, upon Mr. Herbert's pious care about it, which being duly considered, they thought no place more fit to inter the corps than in King Henry VII's Chapel, at the east end of Westminster Abbey, out of which King's loins King Charles was lineally extracted, and where several kings and queens descending from King Henry VII are interred, namely, King Edward VI. Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, King James, Prince Henry, and other princes of the royal stem.

Whereupon, Mr. Herbert made his application to such as were then in power, for leave to bury the King's body in King Henry the VII's chappel, among his ancestours ; but his request was deny'd, this reason being given, that probably it would attract infinite numbers of people of all sorts thither, to see where the King was buried, which (as the times then were) was judged unsafe and inconvenient. Mr. Herbert acquainting the Bishop therewith, they then resolved to bury the King's body in the Royal Chappel of St. George within the castle of Windsor, both in regard his Majesty was sovereign of the most noble Order of the Garter ; and that several Kings, his ancestors, are there interred, namely, King Henry VI. King Edward IV. and King Henry VIII. It was also a castle and place his Majesty took great delight in, as in discourse he

oft times expressed as occasion offered; and withal, for that the Royal Chappel of St. George was, tho' founded by King Edward III. rebuilt by King Edward IV. with much more magnificence.

Upon which considerations Mr. Herbert made his second address to the committee of Parliament, who, after some deliberation, gave him an order bearing date the 6th. of February 1648.[1] authorizing him and Mr. Mildmay to bury the King's body there, which the governour was to observe.

Accordingly the corps was thither carried from St. James's in a hearse covered with black velvet, drawn by six horses also covered with black; after which, four coaches followed, two of them covered likewise with black cloth, in which were about a dozen gentlemen and others, most of them being such as had waited upon his Majesty at Carisbrook Castle and other places, since his Majesty's going from New-castle, all of them being in black.

Being come to Windsor-Castle, Mr. Herbert shewed the governour, Col. Witchcott, the committee's order for permitting Mr. Herbert and Mr. Mildmay to bury the late King in any place within Windsor Castle they should think meet.

In the first place in order thereto, they carried the King's body into the Dean's house, which was all hung with black by Mr. Richard Harrison, and

[1] 1649.

Insignia of the Order of the Garter worn by Charles II., including the "George" which Charles I. handed to Bishop Juxon on the scaffold.

A contemporary drawing by Wenceslaus Hallar.

then to his usual bed-chamber, which is within the palace; after which they went into St. George's-Chappel to take a view thereof, and of the most fit and honourable place for the Royal corps to rest in. Having taken a view, they at first thought, that the Tomb-House would be a fit place; it was erected by the magnificent prelate Cardinal Woolsey (much about the same time he built his stately house at Hampton-Court, in which Tomb-House he begun a glorious monument for his great master King Henry VIII. but this place, though adjoining, yet not being within the Royal Chappel, they waved it. For if King Henry VIII. were buried there (albeit to that day the place of his burial was unknown to any) yet in regard his Majesty (who was a real Defender of the Faith, and as far from censuring any as might be) would upon occasional discourse express some dislike of King Harry's proceedings, in misimploying those vast revenues the suppressed abbeys, monasteries, and other religious houses were endowed with, and by demolishing those many stately structures (which both expressed the greatness of the founders, and preserved the splendour of the Kingdom) might at the reformation have in some measure been kept up and converted to sundry pious uses. Upon consideration thereof, those gentlemen declined it, and pitcht upon the vault where King Edward IV is interred, being in the

north side of the choir, near the altar, as formerly remembered, that king being one his late majesty would many times make honourable mention of, and from whom his Majesty was lineally propagated, which induced Mr. Herbert to give order to have that vault opened, to bury the King's body near his ancestor King Edward IV. who is interred under a fair large stone of tuke, raised within the opposite arch, having a range of iron bars gilt, curiously cut according to Church work; there is no sculpture or inscription, only the royal badge painted on the inside of the arch in several places.

But as they were about this work, some noblemen came thither, namely the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hartford, since Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Lindsay, Lord High-Chamberlain, with Dr. Juxon, Lord Bishop of London (Archbishop of Canterbury afterwards) who had leave to attend the King's body to his grave; and being fit to submit and leave the choice of the place of burial to those great persons, they in like manner viewing the tomb-house, and the choir, one of those lords beating gently upon the pavement with his staff, perceived a hollow sound, and ordering the stones and earth thereunder to be removed, discovered a descent into a vault, where two coffins were laid near one another, the one very large of antique form, the other little, supposed to contain

the bodies of King Henry VIII and Queen Jane Seymour, his third wife, and mother of King Edward VI. of whom in the year 1537. she died in childbed ; and may be credited ; for as Mr. Brook, York - Herauld, in his catalogue of the nobility, p. 40, observes, no other of King Harry's six wives was buried at Windsor ; the velvet palls that were over them seemed fresh, albeit laid there 130 years and upwards. The Lords agreeing that the King's body should there be interred (being about the middle of the choir, over against the eleventh stall upon the sovereigns side) they gave order to have the King's name, and year he died, cut in lead, which whilst the workman was about, the lords went out, and gave the sexton order to lock the chappel door, not suffering any to stay till further notice. The sexton did his best to clear the chappel ; nevertheless (he said) a foot-soldier had hid himself so as was not discerned, and being greedy of prey, got into the vault, and cut so much of the velvet pall, as he judged would hardly be missed, and wimbled a hole into the coffin that was largest, probably fancying there was something well worth his adventure. The sexton at his opening the door, espy'd the sacriligious person, who being searched, a bone was also found about him, which, he said, he would haft a knife with. The governour gave him his reward. But this manifests that a real body was

there, which some that have hard thoughts of King Harry, have scrupled.

The girdle or circumscription of capital letters in lead put about the coffin, had only these words,

KING CHARLES,
1648.

The King's body was then brought from his bed-chamber down into St. George's Hall, whence, after a little stay, it was with a slow and solemn pace (much sorrow in most faces discernable) carried by gentlemen that were of some quality, and in mourning, the lords in like habits followed the royal corps. The governour and several gentlemen and officers and attendants came after.

This is memorable, that at such time as the King's body was brought out of St. George's Hall the sky was serene and clear, but presently it began to snow, and fell so fast, as by that time they came to the west end of the Royall Chappel, the black velvet pall was all white (the colour of innocency) being thick covered over with snow. So went the white king to his grave, in the 48th. year of his age, and the 22nd year and tenth month of his reign. Letting pass Merlyn's prophecies, some make it allude to the white satin his Majesty wore, when he was crowned in Westminster Abbey in the year 1625.

former kings having on purple robes at their coronation. The King's body being by the bearers set down near the place of burial; the Bishop of London stood ready with the service-book in his hands to have performed his last duty to the King his master, according to the order of form for the burial of the dead, set forth in the Book of Common-Prayer, which the lords likewise desired, but would not be suffered by Col. Witchcott the Governour, by reason of the Directory to which (said he) he and others were to be conformable.

This brief narrative shall conclude with the King's own excellent expression, Crowns and kingdoms are not so valuable as my honour and reputation; those must have a period with my life; but these survive to a glorious kind of immortality, when I am dead and gone; a Good Name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an eternity of love and gratitude amongst posterity.

APPENDIX

Sir Henry Halford's Report to the Prince Regent, in 1813, on the Discovery and Examination of the Body of King Charles I. in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

On completing the mausoleum, which his present Majesty has built in the tomb-house, as it is called, it was necessary to form a passage to it from under the choir of St. George's Chapel. In constructing this passage, an aperture was made accidentally in one of the walls of the vault of King Henry VIII. through which the workmen were enabled to see, not only the two coffins, which were supposed to contain the bodies of King Henry VIII. and Queen Jane Seymour, but a third also, covered with a black velvet pall, which, from Mr. Herbert's narrative, might fairly be presumed to hold the remains of King Charles I.

On representing the circumstances to the Prince Regent, his Royal Highness perceived at once, that a doubtful point in history might be cleared up by opening this vault; and accordingly his Royal Highness ordered an examination to be made on

the first convenient opportunity. This was done on the first of April last, the day after the funeral of the Duchess of Brunswick, in the presence of his Royal Highness himself, who guaranteed thereby the most respectful care and attention to the remains of the dead, during the enquiry. His Royal Highness was accompanied by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, Count Munster, the Dean of Windsor, Benjamin Charles Stevenson, Esq. and Sir Henry Halford.

The vault is covered by an arch, half a brick in thickness, is seven feet two inches in width, nine feet six inches in length, and four feet ten inches in height, and is situated in the centre of the choir, opposite the eleventh knight's stall, on the sovereign's side.

On removing the pall, a plain leaden coffin, with no appearance of ever having been enclosed in wood, and bearing an inscription "King Charles, 1648," in large, legible characters, on a scroll of lead encircling it, immediately presented itself to the view. A square opening was then made in the upper part of the lid, of such dimensions as to admit a clear insight into its contents. These were, an internal wooden coffin, very much decayed, and the body carefully wrapped up in cere-cloth, into the folds of which a quantity of unctuous or greasy matter, mixed with resin, as it seemed, had been melted, so as to exclude,

as effectually as possible, the external air. The coffin was completely full; and from the tenacity of the cere-cloth, great difficulty was experienced in detaching it successfully from the parts which it enveloped. Wherever the unctuous matter had insinuated itself, the separation of the cere-cloth was easy; and when it came off, a correct impression of the features to which it had been applied was observed in the unctuous substance. At length, the whole face was disengaged from its covering. The complexion of the skin of it was dark and discoloured. The forehead and temples had lost little or nothing of their muscular substance; the cartilege of the nose was gone; but the left eye, in the first moment of exposure, was open and full, though it vanished almost immediately: and the pointed beard, so characteristic of the period of the reign of King Charles, was perfect. The shape of the face was a long oval; many of the teeth remained; and the left ear, in consequence of the interposition of the unctuous matter between it and the cere-cloth, was found entire.

It was difficult at this moment, to withhold a declaration, that, notwithstanding its disfigurement, the countenance did bear a strong resemblance to the coins, the busts, and especially to the pictures of King Charles I. by Vandyke, by which it had been made familiar to us. It is true, that the minds of the

spectators of this interesting sight were well prepared to receive this impression; but it is also certain, that such a facility of belief had been occasioned by the simplicity and truth of Mr. Herbert's Narrative, every part of which had been confirmed by the investigation, so far as it had advanced: and it will not be denied that the shape of the face, the forehead, an eye, and the beard, are the most important features by which resemblance is determined.

When the head had been entirely disengaged from the attachments which confined it, it was found to be loose, and, without any difficulty, was taken up and held to the view, and gave a greenish red[1]

[1] "I have not asserted this liquid to be blood, because I had not an opportunity of being sure that it was so, and I wished to record facts only, and not opinions: I believe it, however, to have been blood, in which the head rested. It gave to blotting paper and to a white handkerchief, such a colour as blood which has been kept for a length of time generally leaves behind it. Nobody present had a doubt of its being blood; and it appears from Mr. Herbert's narrative, that the King was embalmed immediately after decapitation. It is probable, therefore, that the large blood vessels, continued to empty themselves for some time afterwards. I am aware that some of the softer parts of the human body, and particularly the brain, undergo, in the course of time, a decomposition, and will melt. A liquid, therefore, might be found after long interment, where solids only had been buried: but the weight of the head, in this instance, gave no suspicion that the brain had lost its substance; and no moisture appeared in any other part of the coffin, as far as we could see, excepting at the back part of the head and neck." (Halford.)

tinge to paper and to linen, which touched it. The back part of the scalp was entirely perfect, and had a remarkably fresh appearance ; the pores of the skin being more distinct, as they usually are when soaked in moisture ; and the tendons and ligaments of the neck were of considerable substance and firmness. The hair was thick at the back part of the head, and, in appearance, nearly black. A portion of it which has since been cleaned and dried, is of a beautiful dark brown colour. That of the beard was a redder brown. On the back part of the head it was not more than an inch in length, and had probably been cut so short for the convenience of the executioner, or perhaps by the piety of friends soon after death, in order to furnish memorials of the unhappy king.

On holding up the head, to examine the place of separation from the body, the muscles of the neck had evidently retracted themselves considerably ; and the fourth cervical vertebra was found to be cut through its substance transversely, leaving the surfaces of the divided portions perfectly smooth and even, an appearance which could have been produced only by a heavy blow, inflicted with a very sharp instrument, and which furnished the last proof wanting to identify King Charles the First.

After this examination of the head, which served every purpose in view, and without examining the

body below the neck, it was immediately restored to its situation, the coffin was soldered up again and the vault closed.

Neither of the other coffins had any inscription upon them. The larger one, supposed on good grounds to contain the remains of King Henry VIII. measured six feet ten inches in length, and had been enclosed in an elm one of two inches in thickness: but this was decayed, and lay in small fragments near it. The leaden coffin appeared to have been beaten in by violence about the middle; and a considerable opening in that part of it exposed a mere skeleton of the King. Some beard remained upon the chin, but there was nothing to discriminate the personage contained in it.

The smaller coffin, understood to be that of Queen Jane Seymour, was not touched; mere curiosity not being considered, by the Prince Regent, as a sufficient motive for disturbing these remains.

On examining the vault with some attention, it was found that the wall, at the west end, had, at some period or other, been partly pulled down and repaired again, not by regular masonry, but by fragments of stones and bricks, put rudely and hastily together without cement.

From Lord Clarendon's account, as well as from Mr. Herbert's narrative of the interment of King Charles, it is to be inferred, that the ceremony

was a very hasty one, performed in the presence of the governor, who had refused to allow the service according to the Book of Common Prayer to be used on the occasion; and had, probably, scarce admitted the time necessary for the decent deposit of the body. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the coffin of King Henry VIII. had been injured by a precipitate introduction of the coffin of King Charles; and that the governor was not under the influence of feelings, in those times, which gave him any concern about Royal remains, or the vault which contained them.

It may be right to add, that a very small mahogany coffin, covered with crimson velvet, containing the body of an infant, had been laid upon the pall which covered King Charles. This is known to have been a still-born child of the Princess George of Denmark, afterwards Queen Anne.

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